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REMARKS ON THE SANSKRIT PASSIVE



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BY

J. GONDA
UTRECHT



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I—INTRODUCTION

Although the use of the passive voice in Sanskrit is, in the main, known to the students of this language, it would not appear superfluous to examine the history and development of this verbal category and to make research into some questions connected with it. To begin with, two important questions arise: what is the function of the so-called Sanskrit passive, and how often is it found?

After Whitney in his Sanskrit Grammar [1] had formulated the rule that the forms of the present-stem, which is characterized by an accented *-yá-* added to the root, are used "only in a passive sense", various scholars have repeated this statement in a less absolute and apodictic manner. The sense of the Vedic *-yá-*forms is, according to Delbrück [2], "überwiegend passivisch": "Neutral oder medial sind *dhar-* und *mar-*, und etwa noch *darś- dhū- parc- lup- vac- vañc-*. Zweifelhaft bleiben *tuj-* und *pan-*". Speyer [3], who was guarded in his statements, taught with good reason that the passive voice, which is much used in Sanskrit both personally and impersonally, serves also to indicate such intransitive actions as *the rice boils, the wood splits*; "it is, however, not allowed to use that 'intransitive passive' of all verbs". In another paragraph [4] the same scholar remarked that Sanskrit has a decided predilection for the passive voice; he added [5] that the use of impersonal passives is highly common. In his later book [6] he goes into some particulars: "Im Vedischen herrscht der activische Ausdruck bei weitem vor; das Skt. dagegen hat eine mit der Zeit zunehmende Vorliebe für das Passivum, auch von intransitiven Verben".

It would, however, appear to me that this could be expressed more exactly. Renou [7] has already remarked: "le fait (viz. la faveur dont jouit l'expression passive), en tant que générique... va de pair avec le progrès du style nominal qui multiplie les adjectifs passifs en fonction de verbes". On one hand one has more systematically to distinguish

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1 W. D. Whitney, A sanskrit grammar, § 768.
2 B. Delbrück, Altindische Syntax, p. 268.
3 J. S. Speyer, Sanskrit syntax, § 319.
4 Speyer, o.c., § 7.
5 Speyer, o.c., § 8.
6 Speyer, Vedische und Sanskrit-Syntax, § 245.
7 L. Renou, Grammaire Sanscrite II, § 367.

the various functions of the so-called passive verbal forms, on the other hand one has to inquire into the frequency of each category. If we neglect to make these distinctions it might lead to misunderstandings. Reichelt [8], for instance, is not right in asserting without any qualification that "im Indischen... die passivische Konstruktion die aktivische immer mehr verdrängt".

I need not dwell upon the misconception that a formal category, e.g. the Skt. -*yá*-class must of necessity have only one function. On the contrary, plurality of function is a common occurrence; compare such categories as the Latin verbs in -*r* and the French turns with *se*. Nor is it necessary to dispute the erroneous conception that the so-called passive is a 'passive' in every sense that expression may have, that the distinction between active and passive in the linguistic sense is congruent with the distinction between phenomenal, bodily, mental activity and passivity and the foolish, but almost ineradicable opinion that any active turn may be substituted by or converted into a passive construction [9]. These mistaken opinions have now been sufficiently discerned by other authors, so that my remarks may be confined to these [10]. In modern western languages the active turn does not only occur in such sentences as *the man kills the horse,* where *horse* is the 'passive object', or *the artist paints a portrait,* where *portrait* is the 'resultative object', or he talks politics ('Inhaltsobjekt'), but also in *I see the dog, I hear the lark, the father loves his son, he feels the beauty of the landscape,* where the verb does not express an act resulting from a decision of the subject and the relation between object and subject is not the same as in the other examples [11]. The active turn may occur without an object: *it rains, the dog sleeps, the horse lies.* We see that events, states etc. are often expressed by other forms than

[8] H. Reichelt, Awestisches Elementarbuch, § 615.

[9] This point has been insufficiently discussed by Alice Berger, Der Ausdruck der passivischen Idee im Altfranzösischen (Berliner Beiträge zur romanischen Philologie 4: 1; Jena-Leipzig 1934), p. 14 and by E. Wistrand, Über das Passivum (Göteborgs Kungl. Vetenskaps- och Vitterhets-Samhälles Handlingar, 6 A1; Göteborg 1941), p. 12.

[10] See e.g. H. Kallin, Etude syntactique sur l'expression du rapport de l'agent dans les langues romanes (Diss. Uppsala; Paris 1923).

[11] I refer to Jinendrabuddhi's Nyāsa or Kāśikāvivaraṇapañjikā 1, 4, 49, who distinguishes between three kinds of karman "transitive object": *nirvartya* „celui qui résulte d'une transformation", ex. *kaṭaṃ karoti* „faire une natte"; *vikārya* „celui qui résulte d'une transformation", ex. *kāṣṭhāni bhasmīkaroti* „réduire du bois en cendres"; *prāpya* „ce qu'on atteint (sans autre spécification de l'acte)", ex. *ādityaṃ paśyati* „voir le soleil" (quoted from L. Renou, Terminologie grammaticale du Sanskrit I (1942), p. 123).

the so-called active categories. By the side of *it rains,* Lat. *pluit,* which expresses an event, we find Lat. *itur* ± "going happens", *dimicatur* "the (a) battle takes places", *datur* "there is an act of giving". By the side of the Dutch *hij zit,* Germ. *er sitzt,* we find in French *il est assis.* The case may present itself that an event affects an object, that in consequence of the occurrence of the event an object undergoes a transformation: Dutch *de man wordt boos, de lucht wordt blauw,* Fr. *il se fâche*; this idea and the state which corresponds to such an event or accident, viz. the transformation brought about or resulting from the event (Dutch *de man is boos,* Eng. *the man is angry*) are often denoted by the same forms as are used to express the so-called passive. To understand a passive category in other Indo-European languages, it will be useful to remember these facts.

When a language possesses two or three verbal voices, as a rule one of them is more frequent than the other. In English and other modern Indo-European languages the so-called passive is only found in a minority of cases [12]. The choice of this voice is mainly due to one of the following reasons: 1° it is not possible or not easy to state the active subject: now and then the agens is too indefinite to be expressly stated (Fr. *on,* Dutch *men,* which may mean "people in general"); then again it is indifferent; at times the subject is known to everyone, then again it is veiled by a mysterious haze or it remains in the background; sometimes, however, the subject is not known ("das passivum tritt dann ein, wenn der urheber der tätigkeit nicht bekannt oder so nebensächlich ist, dass er nicht genannt wird, vielleicht gar nicht zum bewusstsein kommt" [13]); 2° the active subject is self-evident from the context; 3° there may be a special reason to make a person or a thing that is the centre of the interest the subject of a passive sentence; thus, the passive turn may be preferred, if the person speaking takes a great interest in the patiens; 4° the passive may be used when there are special reasons (tact, sentiment etc.) to avoid the active subject [14];

[12] As to Slavic languages I refer to Fr. Miklosich, Vergleichende Grammatik der slavischen Sprachen, IV (1868-1874), p. 264.

[13] W. Meyer-Lübke, Vom Passivum (Die neueren Sprachen, 6. Beiheft, 1925), p. 169.

[14] A good instance is the Swedish use of the passive instead of the pronoun *Ni*: „Im Schwedischen, wo im allgemeinen der Höhergestellte nicht höflicherweise mit dem Pronomen *Ni* (2. Pers. Plur.) angeredet werden kann, sondern sein Titel gebraucht werden muss, hat man oft Gelegenheit zu beobachten, wie der schlichte Mann, falls er den Titel nicht kennt, oder dieser unbequem ist, seine Zuflucht zu passivischen Wendungen nimmt, die höchst sonderbar ausfallen können" (E. Wistrand, Über das Passivum, p. 10).

5° sometimes the passive turn facilitates the connection of the sentences [15]; 6° the pass. constr. may be used in order to produce a certain tension, e.g. when the person speaking wishes to suggest the unexpressed agens to his auditor [16]; 7° at times it may, in certain languages, serve as a means to intensify the idea expressed by the verb [17], to accentuate the verbal form; 8° it may be used to avoid misunderstandings. — Yet, English has, like 'journalistic' German and Scandinavian, a predilection for the passive turn [18].

It has more than once been pointed out [19] that it is the general rule with the 'passive turn' in many languages that the agens is not mentioned. The 'complete' construction Lat. *Petrus amatur ab Anna,* Dutch *de boom wordt door dien ouden man gepoot,* is, comparatively speaking, uncommon. According to W. Nausester [20] the complete passive turn is not found in German proverbs: "Jedenfalls fand ich in Simrocks 13 Tausend Nummern enthaltender Sammlung kein einziges Beispiel". In many languages it is very rare: Ernout has pointed out that in 6-7000 lines of the Roman poet Plautus there are only two instances of the passive verb + *a*(*b*) + agens [21]. As a result of statistical investigations made by some pupils of Jespersen's we now know that 70-94 % of the passive sentences in various English texts contained no agens. Yet, English has it comparatively often. According

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[15] See also O. Jespersen, The philosophy of language, p. 167 sqq.; J. Wackernagel, Vorlesungen über Syntax I², p. 143 (with references); G. Overdiep, Stylistische grammatica van het moderne Nederlandsch (1937), § 280.

[16] E. g. Anc. Fr. Thomas, Tristan v. 2081 f. *Tristan i fud reconeuz, d'un sun ami aperceuz.* „Derjenige, der ihn wiedererkennt, wird zwar genannt, aber zur Hebung der Spannung wird zunächst nur die erschütternde Tatsache mitgeteilt: „Tristan wurde erkannt"; dann erst kommen die Details" (Alice Berger, Der Ausdruck der passivischen Idee im Altfranzösischen, Diss. Berlin 1934, p. 12).

[17] A. Berger, o.c., p. 15: „Es ist durchaus möglich, dass etwas aktivisch Gedachtes nur um der Betonung der Verbform willen passivisch ausgedrückt wird". E. Gamillscheg (Historische französische Syntax) has emphasized this point.

[18] See, e.g., M. Deutschbein, Grammatik der englischen Sprache für höhere Schulen⁶ (1930), p. 137; E. Einenkel, Geschichte der englischen Sprache II, Hist. Syntax, 3. Aufl. (1916) p. 136 f.; G. Wustmann, Allerhand Sprachdummheiten (Leipzig 1892).

[19] See e.g. Jacob Grimm, Deutsche Grammatik IV, 11; Th. Gartner, Rätoromanische Grammatik, § 131 and other authorities quoted by W. Meyer-Lübke, Vom Passivum, p. 170.

[20] W. Nausester, Das Kind und die Form der Sprache, Abh. aus dem Gebiete der pädagogischen Psychologie und Physiologie, VII, 7 (1904), p. 30 ff.

[21] A. Ernout, Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique, 15, p. 329 sqq.; see also E. Wistrand, Über das Passivum, Göteborgs kungl. Vetenskaps- och Vitterhets-samh. Handl., sjätte Följden, A, I, 1, p. 8 (1941).

to Ed. Schwyzer [22] there are only 5 cases of a personal agens in the first six books of the Iliad (± 5000 lines). "Il n'y a que trois exemples sûrs dans la Chanson de Roland qui compte 4000 vers, et sur les 30 000 vers et plus dont se composent les cinq poèmes de Chrétien de Troyes que j'ai dépouillés je n'en relève qu'une trentaine" [23]. Investigations made by my assistant, Miss de Zwart, have brought to light that in a part of a modern Dutch novel [24] there are found 339 active verbs, 23 reflexive constructions, 101 instances of the copula *zijn*, 18 passive verbs without an agens and 3 passive sentences with an agens; in another novel [25] (50 pages) these figures are: 435, 24, 83, 27 and 8; in another part of the same work (50 pages): 476, 21, 104, 20 and 3; in a part of a third Dutch novel [26]: 407, 2, 66, 3 and 0; in another part of this work: 545, 14, 104, 1 and 1, in a third part: 384, 10, 64, 4 and 0; in some ancient Dutch farces [27]: 420, 2, 80, 7 and 3, and 226, 4, 65, 14 and 1. In two parts of a modern French novel [28] the figures are: 448, 48, 58, 8 and 3 and 473, 55, 75, 6 and 1. In a German scientific book [29]: 330, 49, 28, 77 and 9. "Es verhält sich nämlich durchgehend so, dass besonders von dem voll entwickelten Passivum ausser in der artifiziellen Schriftsprache sehr wenig Gebrauch gemacht wird" —, in this manner Wistrand [30] already formulated his view. According to Nausester [31] the turn *der Schüler wird vom Lehrer gelobt* is only "ganz vereinzelt" to be found in the works of Schiller, Kleist, Hebbel (e.g. Agnes Bernauer 1, 18: *Der Herzog ist von den Bürgern so warm empfohlen worden*). "Wenn ich aber ... die Aktenschreiber befrage, wenn ich die Bücher der Gelehrten und Verkehrten aufschlage, da kann ich eine reiche Fülle von solchen

[22] Ed. Schwyzer, Zum persönlichen Agens beim Passiv, besonders im Griechischen, Abh. d. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss., ph.-h. Kl., 1942, 10, p. 52.
[23] H. Kallin, quoted by Meyer-Lübke, o.c., p. 170.
[24] M. ter Braak, Afscheid van domineesland.
[25] Vestdijk, St. Sebastiaan.
[26] Den Doolaard, De druivenplukkers.
[27] Taken from P. H. van Moerkerken, Het Nederlandsch Kluchtspel in de 17e eeuw I (1899).
[28] A. Malraux, La condition humaine.
[29] Th. Stcherbatsky, Erkenntnistheorie und Logik nach der Lehre der späteren Buddhisten, übers. von O. Strauss, 1924.
[30] Wistrand, o.c., p. 6. It would appear to me that „die Kraft, die mächtig genug ist, eine ganz neue grammatische Kategorie (viz. the passive) ins Leben zu rufen..." does not disappear in a mysterious way, as is Wistrand's view („scheint auf eine höchst merkwürdige Weise zu verschwinden, sobald ein passives Ausdrucksmittel da ist"), but only realizes itself to a certain extent.
[31] Nausester, o.c., p. 33 ff.

Ausdrücken zusammentragen" [32]. As has been explained by Ernout [33], the complete passive turn, which in ancient Latin was highly infrequent, has in that language developed itself but slowly.

From these investigations we may conclude that in many languages an agentless turn is more needed than a 'complete passive' construction [34]. This fact agrees with the phenomenon to be found in some languages (Mandingo, Yoruba etc. [35]), viz. the so-called 'Man-Passiv' by the side of the active voice. In those languages there only exists a passive when the agens is not expressed or when it remains undetermined. We may also refer to the Old Irish passive, which occurs only in the third person: *berir breth foir* "judgment is passed upon him"; to express the other persons the third person singular is used with an objective pronoun of the so-called logical subject, e.g., *no-m-berar* "one carries me" = "I am carried" [36]. Old Irish *berair* means "there is a carrying", just like such Umbrian and Oscan forms as U. *ferar*, O. *sakrafír* mean "let there be a carrying" and "let one consecrate, let there be a consecration". When the evidence concerning these *r*-forms is taken as a whole, it would appear originally to have been an impersonal of the third person. In this treatise we will reserve the term passive sentence (without quotation-marks) only for those passive turns that contain an agens. In other cases the word 'passive' will be put between '...'.

Another point to be considered is the origin of the 'passive' forms in various languages. Confining our remarks to Indo-European languages we can say first, that in original Indo-European there was, apparently, no form especially appropriated to the expression of the passive voice. No passive category met with in the historical period was originally passive. As in Greek [37], Indo-Iranian, and Gothic the middle

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[32] I refer also to E. Löfstedt, Syntactica II, 367: „Der vollständige passivische Ausdruckstypus *laudor ab aliquo* ist im grossen und ganzen sowohl der einfachen, unbefangenen Umgangs- und Volkssprache als auch der dichterischen Sprache fremd... (Dieser) Typus hat in der Tat etwas Formelles, etwas Prosaisches und Papiernes..."; cf. also I, p. 71; J. Svennung, Untersuchungen zu Palladius und zur lateinischen Fach- und Volkssprache (Uppsala, 1936), p. 460.

[33] Ernout, o.c.

[34] Cf. also Rita Schlaepfer, Die Ausdrucksformen für „man" im Italienischen, Diss., Bern 1933.

[35] See H. C. von der Gabelentz, Über das Passivum (Abh. sächs. Ges. d. Wiss., Phil.-Hist. Kl. 1867), p. 467.

[36] See also H. Pedersen, Vergleichende Grammatik der keltischen Sprachen, II (1913), § 624.

[37] See also Ed. Schwyzer, Zum persönlichen Agens beim Passiv ..., Abh. Preuss. Akad. 1942, 10, p. 74.

voice was used also as a passive, we may conclude that already in Indo-European times the middle forms, at least in the perfect tense, were used for this purpose. Other languages, however, have chosen reflexive forms to express the passive idea: the Balto-slavic family of languages, Swedish and Danish and also Gothic. As regards Sanskrit, everybody knows the intimate connection between the *-yá-* class and the 4th present-class, a very considerable part of which signifies a condition of mind or body or a state of feeling. It is not even possible precisely to define the limits of the two classes; in the older language there are a number of cases in which the accent wavers and changes. As this 'passive' in *-yá-* is found only in Indo-Iranian languages, it must be relatively young. Moreover, many a text has been interpreted and translated as if the verb were a real passive, whereas it might have been more reasonable to take it as an intransitive. But most 'passive' sentences in Sanskrit literature are formed by means of a verbal adjective in *-tá-* (or *-ná-*). This category is not a young one. In original Indo-European it must have been in frequent use as verbal and other (especially possessive, relational and characterizing) adjectives. In Greek the verbal adjectives in -τό- serve to denote a condition attained to: "Die Adjektiva sind überwiegend aus dem allgemeinen Verbalstamm gebildete Verbaladjektive aktiver und passiver Geltung zur Bezeichnung eines erreichten Zustandes (wie die Partizipia des Perfekts), aber auch der Fähigkeit, Möglichkeit (besonders negiert: ἀνίκητος invictus), aber auch der passiven Notwendigkeit...; sie sind in altertümlicher Weise nicht ins Verbalparadigma einbezogen, wie z.B. lat. *amatus est*.... In der ältesten Zeit und noch später herrscht das komponierte Verbaladjektiv vor (kennzeichnend ἀκίνητα καὶ κεκινημένα ... Plat. Soph. 249d). Doch sind auch manche Simplizia alt (bes. adjektivische und substantivierte), wenn auch vielleicht erst zu den Komposita hingebildet (ἄφατοί τε φατοί τε, ῥητοί τ' ἄρρητοί τε Hes. E. 3f.)... Solche Verbaladjektiva werden zu den meisten Verba nur gelegentlich, von sehr vielen überhaupt nicht gebildet" [38]. In Latin and other languages of this family the same category has become a part. perf. pass. By the side of this the suffix *-tó-* is also a means of forming adjectives signifying the idea of being provided with, being supplied with, being fitted with: "le même suffix donne des dérivés de noms, indiquant la possession de telle ou telle chose" [39]: lat. *barbatus* "(bearded)" ";

[38] Ed. Schwyzer, Griechische Grammatik I (1939), p. 501 sq.

[39] A. Meillet, Introduction à l'étude comparative des langues indo-européennes, p. 268 sq.

cf. also *honestus* "honoured" (*honos*); and such adjectives of participial origin, but not felt as part of the verbal system as *gratus* "pleasing", *certus* "sure" (*cerno*). But the direct relation of the so-called passive participles (*latus, lectus, potus* etc.) to the verbal system developed only in the course of time. These adjectives in *-tó-* represent a category which is also found in other families of languages [40].

Now, the authors of Sanskrit grammars have neglected to make a clear distinction between the 'passive construction' with a verbal adjective and the 'passive construction' with a personal verbal form. In both cases the question whether the agens is expressed is of greater moment than their works would have us believe. The construction with the verbal adjective has to be studied in connection with the construction of nominal sentences in general. Like their counterparts in the sister languages the Indian verbal adjectives might be connected with personal forms (*as-* etc.) and the use and development of this personal 'participial' construction is worth studying too.

In addition to the above I should like to remark that the grammars dealing with the Indian verbal forms only inform us of the use of the passive in general, but do not descend to particulars as to the use made of it by individual authors. Nor do they give us any insight into a number of syntactical and stylistic details which will be discussed in this paper. Yet, some understanding of these and other questions in relation to the use of the passive voice in Indian literature will no doubt help to elucidate a number of difficulties concerning the diatheseis of the Indo-European verb in general. The more so, as the rather numerous syntactical studies in the sister languages may give occasion to conclusions based upon recent and detailed examination of the German, Latin and Greek facts and, at the same time, upon incomplete and partly antiquated inquiries into the Indian material.

The present writer here undertakes to set forth what appeared to him the most essential facts in connection with the use of the so-called personal 'passive' verbal forms in Vedic and Sanskrit and to describe their meaning or function, their syntax and the stylistic aspects of their use, in particular with reference to the question how far the so-called 'passive' is a real or complete passive. With that aim he has chosen a rather large number of texts and studied them separately in order to bring into relief as well as possible the charac-

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[40] See J. Gonda, Een onbevredigend behandeld punt in de Maleise grammatica, in: Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië 97, p. 515 sqq., and: Indonesische werkwoordsvormen, ibidem 105, p. 333 sqq.

teristic features of the literary genre or species to which each text belongs. There was, however, no necessity to mention all particulars every time and to establish the same facts again and again. In addition to this the constructions with the verbal adjective have been attentively examined and, in order to throw light upon the function of the agens and the use of the verbal adjective as a predicate, reference has been given to the passages where these forms are used as attributes or appositions. The formal categories which together constitute the Sanskrit passive (participial constructions, *-ya*-present, the other personal forms and the gerundive) have been treated separately, although in discussing them together some repetition might have been avoided. The forms without an agens and those with the agens expressed are consistently kept distinct. Furthermore, the author has tried to make a comparison between the partial results obtained in the said manner, and in doing so he has given his best attention to the relative frequency of the 'passive' forms and constructions and to some problems relating to the historical development of the 'passive construction' in Vedic and Sanskrit. Lastly, a few remarks have been added concerning the passive turn in Indo-European languages in general. There has been no repetition of many useful and correct remarks to be found in the grammars and handbooks. Readers will be aware that the quotations from these well-known books are but few.

II—TEXTS

Śatapathabrāhmaṇa and other brāhmaṇas.

I have examined a comparatively large part of the Śatapathabrāhmaṇa, viz. 1, 1, 1-1, 3, 4; 1, 8, 1-1, 8, 3; 2, 1, 1-2, 1, 4; 2, 2, 3-2, 3, 1; 2, 4, 3-2, 6, 4, being 90 pages of Weber's edition. In this text five groups of 'passive' forms are to be distinguished: the so-called passive participles (verbal adjectives) in *-ta-* or *-na-*; the so-called gerundives; the forms of the present-system, the stem of which is formed with the accented *-yá-*; middle forms used in a 'passive' sense the special passive 3d sg. of the aorist, ending in *-i*.

I—THE VERBAL ADJECTIVES

The verbal adjectives in *-na*[41] are met with in a comparatively small number of cases, whereas those in *-ta-* are very frequent. They are used in various ways:

[41] As to their origin and early development see also J. Gonda, Zur Homonymie im Altindischen, Acta Orientalia 14 (1936), esp. p. 188 ff.

A. **1**) as pure attributive and descriptive adjectives. 1, 2, 4, 15 *ned anena vajreṇa saṃśitena pṛthivīṃ hinasānīti* "lest I should injure the earth with this sharp thunderbolt"; 3, 4, 10. I noted only a few instances, but some cases which I listed as 'appositions' may also be considered as attributives.

2) Occasionally the negative element *a-* or *an-* which may appear before any adjective is prefixed to a verbal adjective: 1, 2, 1, 22 *tasmād aniruktena yajuṣā gṛhṇāti* "therefore he takes it with an undefined formula".

3) A few instances of the construction 'ante Christum natum = before the birth of Christ' are met with: 2, 3, 1, 8 *yathā... āvasathenopakḷptenopāsīta* "as...he would honour him by trimming his house".

4) Now and then the substantive has not been expressed: 1, 1, 3, 5 *itarāsu saṃsṛṣṭam iva* "with the other (water) some matter has become mixed up"; 9, 1, 18 *atiriktam* "what is in excess"; 3, 3, 16 *skannam* (viz. butter); 2, 2, 3, 17 *kṛtam*; in fine compositi: 1, 2, 5, 5 *yajñasaṃmitam.*

B. In this case these forms are occasionally equivalent to substantives: 1, 1, 4, 3 *piṣṭam* "flour"; 2, 1, 2 *piṣṭāni*; 9, 1, 5 *puṣṭam* "wealth"; 8, 2, 13 *yathāyathena kḷptena* "in complete and proper order"; 2, 6, 1, 6 *dugdha-*"milk"; 20 *parivṛte* "in an enclosed place"; in a compound: 1, 8, 3, 15 *subhūtam* "well-being"; 25 *vaṣaṭkṛtam*; 9, 1, 1 *sūktavāka-*; 2, 6, 1, 48 *havirucchiṣṭam*; 6, 3, 1 *sukṛtam*, etc.; 4, 4, 5 *purohitaḥ.*

C. Apart from the attributive function the verbal adjectives, like other nouns, serve as predicates in nominal sentences.

1) The so-called verbum substantivum is very often not subjoined. a Many of the sentences of this Brāhmaṇa are moulded in this shape. I have listed the following occurrences (mostly pure adj.): 1, 1, 1, 20 *evaṃ hi mithunaṃ kḷptam* "for in this way a copulation is regularly accomplished" cf. 2, 5, 2, 17; 1, 2, 2, 9; 3, 1, 25; 3, 2, 12; 3, 3, 16; 17; 9, 2, 20; 2, 1, 4, 2; 3, 1, 20 *parābhūtā vai tāḥ* (viz. *prajāḥ*) "they (the creatures that are not allowed to take part in the sacrifice) are forlorn"; 4 3, 9 *sarvatraiva sviṣṭakṛd anvābhaktaḥ* "Agni S. is always allowed a share in it..."; 4, 3, 14; 5, 1, 5 *prajāpatim evaitad abhyanūktam* "... this is said"; 5, 2, 2; 6, 1, 20; 6, 2, 7; 10; resultative: 2, 5, 1, 17; (*sambhūtāḥ* after *sambhavanti*: 15); 1, 9, 3, 6 *yad vivṛḍham* "what was torn"; 2, 1, 1, 2; etc. b I have found one instance of a verb. adj. in fine compositi; 2, 3, 1, 17 *caturdhāvihitaṃ hīdaṃ payaḥ.* c Now and then the verb. adj. is followed by the particle *iva*: 1, 2, 3, 8 *saṃtatam iva hi māṃsam*; 3, 3, 6; 2, 1, 4, 27. d Here too we meet

with verb. adj. to which the negative particle *a-* has been prefixed: 1, 1, 1, 13 *anirukto vai prajāpatiḥ*; 2, 1, 4, 27; 3, 1, 20; 4, 3, 7; see also 1, 8, 2, 2. The suffix of the superlative is added: 2, 4, 4, 19 ... *payasyāvakḷptatamā bhavati.* e The subject of the sentence is frequently left unexpressed: α In a subordinated sentence: 1, 2, 2, 16 *yadā śṛtaḥ*; = 2, 3, 8; 9, 1, 29 *yad ārtvijye pravṛtaḥ* ("he becomes nonhuman) when he is chosen for the office of sacrificial priest"; 5, 1, 15; see also 1, 1, 1 *yatra yatrāgner vyaktam.* β in an apodosis: 1, 9, 2, 30 *yad dhy ūrdhvaṃ samiṣṭayajuṣo 'tiriktam*; 2, 3, 1, 15 *yan nv evaitad agne retas tena nv eva śṛtam*; ibid. γ The verb. adj. may even do duty for a substantive (see above): (1, 9, 1, 20 *iṣṭaṃ ca vittaṃ ca* "what was searched for and found"); in a subordinate sentence: 1, 6, 3, 11 *yadi ... uddṛṣṭam* "when ... (the new moon) becomes visible". f Beside the verb. adj. a noun-predicate is found: 2, 5, 4, 10 *viśvaṃ vā etat. karma kṛtam* "that sacred work was made complete". g An object depending on a verb. adj. is rarely met with: 2, 5, 1, 5 *tā ayaṃ vāyuḥ ... āviṣṭaḥ* "these (the quarters) the wind entered", the preceding quotation from ṚV 8, 101, 14d has *āviveśa*; compare in § 4 *prajā ha tisro atyāyam īyuḥ* (ṚV. 8, 101, 14a): *tad yāḥ parābhūtās* (author of the ŚBr.) "this is said regarding those who passed away" and *ny anyā arkam abhito viviśre* (ṚV. 8, 101, 14b): *tā agnim abhito niviṣṭāḥ* "they settled down around the fire". In § 1 and 2, however, where the facts are mentioned for the first time, the perfect is used: ... *prajāḥ ... parābabhūvuḥ* etc., in § 3, which relates the thoughts of the creator, the present: *prajāḥ ... parābhavanti.* But when it is said that Prajāpati created beings that continued to exist because they could resort to female breasts, the conclusion is given in the shape of a nominal phrase with predicative verb. adj.: *tā imā aparābhūtāḥ*: "they are these (creatures) which have not passed away" = "... which are free from the quality of passing away": now, it is neither a (quasi-) historical fact nor an action that is related, but a state, a condition to this day extant. So, whilst interpreting (§ 4 and 5) the Ṛgvedic verses the author does not use a pure historical tense to express a (quasi-) historical fact or an action, but, taking up the substances within the range of his argument he subjoins nominal predicates to them and thereby he transposes the contents of his communications from the historical sphere into the timeless and therefore ever-present logical sphere. So, *tad yāḥ parābhūtāḥ* means "this is said regarding those that are qualified as 'having passed away'", and *tā agnim abhito niviṣṭāḥ* means "they (are those that) are qualified (and that are meant

in the Ṛgvedic text) as settling down around the fire". h In a limited number of cases an instrumental expressive of instrument or concomitancy has been added: 1, 1, 1, 14 = 2, 1, 1, 4 *adbhir vā idaṃ sarvam āptam* "all this is (qualified as being) pervaded (or obtained) by water"; 2, 1, 16 *antarikṣeṇa hīme dyāvāpṛthivī viṣṭabdhe* "by means of the atmospheric region the sky and the earth are (in the state of being) firmly kept asunder"; 8, 1, 36 *etābhyām evaitad āśīrbhyāṃ sarvam āptam* "through ... everything is obtained" (*et. āś.* is clearly not the agens, but the instrument); 2, 3, 10 *pāpmanānuṣaktaḥ* "affected with evil". In the two texts quoted in the first place the instr. expresses the instrument when we connect the sentence with the following part of the argumentation (e.g. 2, 1, 1, 4 *adbhir evainam etad āptvā*), but the statement means also: "... pervaded by water" and then *adbhiḥ* has to be considered as an instr. agentis. 2, 1, 2, 5. An instr. agentis is found 2, 5, 1, 4 *etad ṛṣiṇābhyanuktam.* As for 1, 2, 5, 8 and 9 see p. 19. j Under a I listed only occurrences to transitive verbs; here I add the verb. adj. derived from intransitive verbs, used in the same way: 1, 2, 4, 14 *asyāṃ hīme sarve lokāḥ pratiṣṭhitāḥ* "for on it all these worlds rest" (result.); the same verb. adj.: 3, 3, 10; 8, 3, 15; 9, 2, 11 *patnīṣu vai yonau retaḥ p-m* "in the wines, in the womb the seed has (is known to have) its place, it is a property of the seed to... in..."; 29 he bestows plants on this world *tā imā asmiṃ loka oṣadhayaḥ p-āḥ* "(and so as is well-known) have a firm place in..."; 9, 3, 12; 2, 1, 1, 6 in a 'logical' conclusion which elucidates a well-known fact; 2, 5, 1, 4 *parābhūtāḥ* and *niviṣṭāḥ* (see above); 6, 1, 11 at the beginning of an argumentation *devāḥ ... manuṣyān abhyupāvṛttāḥ* "the gods came ... to men" (it is a 'quality' of them); 6, 2, 9 *yā asya prajā jātāḥ* (*j.* emphasizes the 'quality' not the historical fact). The negative *a*(*n*)- has been prefixed: 2, 3, 1, 13 *anupasthita-*; 5, 1, 4 *aparabhūta-*; 5, 2, 3 *ajāta-*.

2) a To a verbal adjective used as a predicate, the verbs *asti* or *bhavati* are, however, not seldom added: *asi* is found only in quotations from Vāj. S., among the other forms of the verb as conjunctives and optatives are, comparatively speaking, more frequent than indicatives: 1, 9, 3, 19, but here the verb. adj. does duty for a subst., *nātra tirohitam ivāsti;* 2, 3, 1 *avaṣṭhyūtā stha* "you have been spat upon"; 2, 5, 4, 10 *sarvaṃ jitaṃ devānām āsīt*; 1, 9, 1, 24 *tat tad antarhitam iva manuṣyebha āsa* (not *antardadhe*) and 25 *tad vā ṛṣīṇām anuśrutam āsa*, in a sense, these two sentences do not form part of the 'story' in which perfects are used (*vidāṃ cakāra, apīyāya*), I should rather say

that the author not only relates 'historical' facts, but also his own opinion with regard to a position of affairs in the past; in the same way 1, 2, 15 *uvāca ... upādhatta teṣām alpakād evāgnir asaṃcita āsa ' atha hovāca* "that fire of theirs wanted but little to be completely built up, — when he said"; 2, 2, 4, 3 (condition resultant on a preceding development) 1, 3, 1, 20 (thinking:) *sarvo me yajña āhavanīye śṛto 'sat*; 2, 3, 1, 4 *śṛtam asad iti*; 1, 1, 4, 23 (he says:) *supratigṛhītā āsan*; 2, 1, 13; 21; 2, 5, 1, 18; 2, 27 (always in a formula to be thought or said, semi-nominal sentences); 20 *jñātibhyo hāsyai tad ahitaṃ syāt* "that will turn out injurious to her relatives"; 1, 3, 3, 16; 46 *syātām*; 6, 2, 6 *syuḥ* (3 ×), the verb. adj. followed by *syāt* etc. are, too, practically adjectives: the prefixes *a(n)*- and *su-* are often met with, cp. also 2, 6, 2, 6 *abhimānuko ha rudraḥ paśūnt syāt*; 1, 9, 3, 19 *santu* (words to be said). Forms of the verb *bhū-* are more numerous, but I have met with no other forms than *bhavati, bhavanti* and (once) *bhavataḥ*; these turns are in general expressive of an opinion or conclusion of the author, of quality, result, state: 1, 1, 2, 21 *parivṛtam iva vā etad ano bhavati tad asyaitac cakṣuḥ pāpmagṛhītam iva bhavati* ("find itself in the position of being...."); 1, 4, 24; 2, 3, 5 *tathaiṣāṃ śṛtaṃ bhavati* "thus it becomes boiled (drinkable) for them"; 8; 3, 1, 1; 8, 3, 25 *saṃsravo hy eva khalu pariśiṣṭo bhavati* "the residue... is that which remains"; 9, 2, 14; 2, 2, 3, 21; 5, 1, 18 (expressive of state) 5, 2, 20; 5, 4, 10; 1, 8, 3, 7 *sarvā vai tat tā iṣṭā bhavanti* "all (these deities) are now characterized as being offered to" i.e. "to all offering has now taken place"; 8, 3, 10; 25; 9, 1, 10; 9, 2, 26; 2, 5, 1, 18 *prasva upasaṃnaddhā bhavanti* lit. "... are tied"; 6, 1, 5 *dhānā apiṣṭā bhavanti* "... remains unground", relation of a (negative) fact, but also a conclusion of the author about a state of being, the sentence *tato 'rdhāḥ piṃsanti* which precedes expresses only a fact; 8; 9; 2, 5, 3, 5; *bhavataḥ*: 2, 1, 2, 3. Besides, there is an instance of the verb *sthā-* subjoined to a verb. adj.: 2, 1, 2, 6 *prajāḥ... ekarūpa... tasthuḥ* "...remained", cp. my remark ad 2, 6, 1, 5.

2) b The verb. adj. forms the last part of a compound: 1, 1, 2, 21 (see above). c The verb. adj. may be followed by *iva:* e.g. 1, 1, 2, 21 (see above). d Now and then *a(n)*- has been prefixed: 2, 6, 1, 5 (see above). e There are also a limited number of intransitives: 1, 1, 4, 14 *tasmin... vāk praviṣṭāsa* "into him had entered a... voice' (Eggeling), it is not a 'historical' event, but a state of affairs resultant on a preceding event; 3 a skin of a black antelope is used "in order that nothing of the oblation may get spilt": *askannaṃ havir asad iti...*, "if any

grain... should now be spilt on it...": *yad evātra taṇḍulaḥ ...skandāt* (*ask. h. asat*: the oblation may continue to be *askanna-*); 1, 2, 15 *apāsyati ... yady atra kiṃcid āpannaṃ bhavati*: *ap.* expresses a fact, *āp. bh.* a state. f There are a comparatively large number of instances of the same turn, an instrumental being added: an instr. expressive of means or instrument: etc.: 1, 1, 1, 15 *tad evāsyaitena sarvam āptaṃ bhavati*; 1, 4, 5 *abhinihitam eva savyena pāṇinā bhavati* "while it is still being held down with his left hand —", but the author adds: *atha ... āharati* (action) "then he takes..."; the same: 6; 2, 1, 7; 8; 2, 1, 22 *etat ... yajuṣaiva gṛhītaṃ bhavati* "it is customary to take..." (concluding and elucidating remark of the author) beside, in the same §, *tad itareṇa yajuṣā gṛhṇāti* "he takes..." (fact); 2, 2, 3, 13 *rātribhir hy evāntarhitau bhavataḥ*, the word *r.*, being opposed to *agnibhyām* in the preceding sentence has been emphasized and so occupies the first place, it is, however, not made the subject of the sentence: parallelism, the subject need not be expressed, and a predicate expressive of state is chosen; 1, 4, 29 (2 ×). g The predicate is attended by a genitive; 1, 2, 3, 5 *tathaiṣāṃ śṛtaṃ bhavati* "thus is become boiled (drinkable) for them"; 3, 1, 1; 3, 18. Thus far the genitives express the person on whose behalf the process is going on, or who is interested by it; a genitive of agens presents itself 1, 8, 1, 39 *yajamāno vai dhruvo tad yajamānasya prāśitaṃ bhavati;* ibid., where the underlying possessive character seems to be apparent: "the dh. represents the y.: hence this is the food of the y. (i.e. is eaten by him)"; compare also 2, 5, 2, 46 *ye ... yajamānayor vāsasī parihite syātām* "the garments, worn by the y. and his wife..." 2, 1, 4, 29 *asya ... āptam bhavati*, gen. of agens < gen. of concern; compare 4; 4, 18 *sarvaṃ ha vā asya prītaṃ bhavati sarvam āptaṃ yaḥ ...*; 1, 1, 1, 15; 2, 5, 4, 10 *sarvaṃ jitaṃ devānām āsīt ... etasya ... s. j. bhavati*, translated by Eggeling: "to the gods ... all was conquered ... all is conquered by him"!; 1, 9, 1, 25 *tad vā ṛṣīṇām anuśrutam āsa* may be translated: "it became known to the ṛṣis", but the ṛṣis are, anyhow, the agents of the action of hearing; 2, 5, 2, 3 it reads *yāś caivāsya prajā jātā āsan* "... that were born to him" (cp. 22), gen. of concern, but, of course, he is also the begetter of the children.

3) Over and above the use of the predicate verbal adjective hitherto mentioned it is not infrequently expressive of 'actuality', i.e. it expresses such acts as are simultaneous with other acts done or effects realized. But at the very moment these acts are performed and the formulas which contain the verb. adj. are recited, they come to belong

to the sphere of that which has come to an end, of the complete. So we observe the transition to its being used as a category expressive of the 'actual past', i.e. of such past acts as are so recent as not to have lost their actuality at the time of their being related, of such past acts as bring about effects or results that are of moment to the person speaking and his auditors. This is, however, not precisely the use in the texts quoted below. This use is found only in quotations from the Vāj. Saṃhitā, which are to be recited by a priest and in other formulas. They are directed to divine and other revered powers, metra, animals, oblations, food etc. included. a There verb. adj. is not accompanied by the verbum subst.: 1, 1, 2, 2 (Vāj. S. 1, 7a) *pratyuṣṭaṃ rakṣaḥ pratyuṣṭā arātayaḥ* "he now heats (these objects) saying 'scorched is the rakṣas, scorched are the enemies'"; ibid. (Vāj. S. 1, 7b); 1, 2, 15 (Vāj. S. 1, 9e) *apahataṃ rakṣaḥ* "repelled is the r."; 1, 4, 4 (Vāj. S. 1, 14b); 21 (Vāj. S. 1, 16d; e); 2, 1, 14 (Vāj. S. 1, 19); 1, 3, 1, 4 (Vāj. S. 1, 29); 9, 3, 10 *tad u tat pṛthivyāṃ viṣṇur vyakraṃsta gāyatreṇa chandasā tato nirbhakto yo 'smān dveṣṭi* etc. "hence (he strides thrice) with (the texts Vāj. S. 2, 25 a-c); 'on the earth V. strode by means of the g.: excluded therefrom is he who hates us'" (3 ×); also 12 (3 ×); in these cases the priest performs an act and recites the appropriate words: by the act and the words the effect he has in view has been realized[42]; cf. e.g. 1, 1, 4, 4 "he shakes it (the black antelope skin) saying: 'shaken off is the rakṣas...', whereby he repels from it the evil spirits, the rakṣas". An instructive text which occurs four times (1, 8, 3; 10; 9, 1, 1; 2, 5, 2, 42; 6, 1, 45) *iṣitā daivyā hotāro bhadravācyāya preṣito mānuṣaḥ sūktavākāya* "the divine hotars are summoned for the proclamation of success, the human one is (by these words) called upon for the song of praise": 1, 8, 3, 10 the author adds "by these words he urges on the human h. to singing praises": so, *preṣitaḥ* means: "he is affected by the action of calling upon (viz. by means of this formula) > he is called upon"; in another formula (cp. TS 2, 6, 7, 1; 2) 1, 8, 1, 19 etc. *upahūtaṃ vāmadevyam* etc. (3 ×); 20; 21; 22; 23 (2 ×); 24 (3 ×) etc., cp. also 29 *upahūte dyāvāpṛthivī ... tad ime d. upahvayate* "he thereby calls to him heaven and earth". — An interesting text, which presents this turn in a narrative section, is 2, 4, 4, 6 *teno ha tata īje dakṣaḥ ... ime 'py etarhi dākṣāyaṇā rājyam ivaiva prāptā rājyam iha vai prāpnoti yaḥ...* "D.

[42] As is well known the word of man has a magical and creative power; it is able to have the same effect as a rite. See, e.g. J. Gonda, Remarks on similes in Sanskrit literature (1939), § 42.

performed that same sacrifice; and even to this day these descendants of his are possessed of the royal dignity; r.d. he, therefore, here obtains, who..." I am inclined to list this occurrence under C 1 (see above), but some notion of the actual past may be present too: "the descendants have obtained the r.d. and so they do in these days"; *prāpnoti*, however, is expressive of the 'timeless present'. — An instance of this use of the verb. adj. accompanied by a personal form is found 1, 1, 3, 10 (Vāj. S. 1, 13d) *prokṣitā stheti ... atha haviḥ prokṣati.* A pronoun expressive of agens attends on the verb. adj. in the words to be spoken by the kṣatriya: 1, 3, 2, 15 *vaiśya mayi yat te puro nihitaṃ tad āhara* "...bring to me what you have stored away!"

4) The verbal adjective may be the predicate of an absolute locative denoting the circumstances under which the main action comes to pass. As is well known, this locative is closely connected with the locatives of time and circumstance: 1, 8, 1, 4; 5; 39 *ned asaṃsthite yajñe prāśnānīti*; 2, 5, 2, 30 *saṃmṛṣṭe 'gnau*; 5, 3, 17 etc. Not infrequently only the predicative locative has been expressed: 1, 1, 1, 3 *saṃsthite* "after the completion of the sacrifice"; 6; 2, 5, 2, 31; 37 *vaṣaṭkṛte juhutaḥ* "on the '*vaṣaṭ*' being uttered..."; 3, 17 *atha prātar hute vāhute vā* "then, in the morning, either after or before the performance of the agnihotra"; 3, 1, 9 *astam ite*. The loc. abs. is, however, not often to be met with.

5) Now and then the accusative of a verbal adjective is employed as a predicate (1 × p., 8 × th.): 1, 2, 5, 16 *juṣṭām evaināṃ etad devebhyaḥ karoti* "in this way he makes it pleasing to the gods"; 2, 1, 4, 4 *tat suhitaṃ kartavai brūyāt*; 3, 1, 9 *vichinnaṃ agnihotraṃ manyāmahe*; 13 (intrans.); the suffix of the comparative is added to the verb. adj.: 1, 3, 2, 12 *attāram evaitat parimitataram ... karoti*; the substantive has been left unexpressed: 2, 2, 14 *śṛtaṃ vedāni* "I will ascertain whether (it) has been baked" (= 2, 3, 1, 16); 8, 2, 9 *suhitaṃ kuruta*; 2, 5, 26.

6) Occasionally impersonal forms are met with; 1, 2, 5, 18 *etasmin devayajana iṣṭaṃ bhavati* "... the sacrifice takes place, is performed"; 19; 2, 4, 4, 17 *te evaitad ... yajati ... asya daśapūrṇamāsābhyām iṣṭaṃ bhavati ya evam etad veda* "it is to these (two gods), that he offers ..., and ... to the new and full moon offering takes place by the influence of him who..."; the same thought is first expressed by an active sentence, then by an impersonal-intransitive turn of a complementary character which emphasizes the efficacy of the action and its result; cf. § 16 "whosoever ... prepares the s. at full moon, renders his

offering palatable (*svadayati*) to the gods, and his o. is p. (*svadate*) to the g.".

D. As is well known the Sanskrit verbal adjectives are also used to express attendant circumstances or other qualifications of the main action, whether temporal or concessive, causal, conditional etc. As this use of the mere participle (participium conjunctum) is far less known in modern languages such as English or Dutch, various conjunctions are to be added, when translating into a European language. In the parts of the Śat. Br. dealt with in this survey this mode of employment of the words in *-ta-* is often to be found.

1) A paratactically joined intransitive verbal adjective expresses attendant circumstances or other qualifications of the main action: 1, 1, 3, 2 *so 'yaṃ puruṣe 'ntaḥ praviṣṭaḥ prāṅ ca pratyaṅ ca* "on entering into man it becomes a forward and a backward one", = 8, 3, 12; 2, 1, 1, 6; 6, 3, 6 *payo ha vai prajā jātā abhi saṃjānate* "... when they are born"; 5, 3, 20 *maruto ha vai krīḍino vṛtraṃ haniṣyantam indram āgatam tam abhitaḥ paricikrīḍuḥ*; 3, 1, 9 *agnāv evaibhya etat praviṣṭebhyo juhoti*; ibid. *apretebhya evaibhya etaj juhoti*; 2, 4, 4 *tasya bhītasya svo mahimāpacakrāma* "he (Prajāpati) being terrified, his own greatness departed from him"; a noun-predicate is added: 1, 8, 3, 14 *vaya evainam etad bhūtam*.

2) The occurrences of transitive verbal adjectives employed in the same way are more numerous: 1, 1, 1, 9 (quotation) *sa yad evāśitam anaśitaṃ tad aśnīyād iti* "let him therefore eat what, when eaten, counts as not eaten"; 2, 1, 22 *yad vā adiṣṭaṃ devatāyai havir gṛhyate* "now whatever oblation, in being taken, is announced to a (particular) deity ..."; 2, 5, 19 *hataḥ puruṣo hato 'śvaḥ śete*; 3, 1, 12 (thought); 8, 1, 14; 8, 2, 8 (3 ×); 2, 3, 1, 3; 4, 3, 25; 5, 2, 20 *niruktaṃ vā enaḥ kanīyo bhavati* "when confessed the sin becomes less"; 5, 3, 3 *anann eva prāṇan paridīrṇaḥ śiśye*; 1, 3, 2, 6 *amuṣmai tvā juṣṭaṃ gṛhṇāmi*; 1, 3, 3, 1; 2; 3.

3) It is a well-known device in Sanskrit literature to begin a new sentence with an absolutive derived from the same root as the verb of the preceding sentence and repeating in a succinct form the contents of that sentence. By means of this anaphorical and recapitulating use of the absolutive which is only a special case of a mode of connecting sentences often to be found in various languages, especially in primitive and popular speech, the speaker or the author makes an opportunity for himself and for his auditors or readers to pause to collect their thoughts, to gain starting-points to which he may add a new link of his

argument. So the author of the Śat. Br. says, 2, 3, 3, 3 *sa yat agnī ādhatte, tad enaṃ janayati; taṃ janayitvā bibharti* "when he establishes the two fires, he reproduces that (viz. Agni); and having reproduced him, he maintains him". Now, the same device is used when the subject of the subjoined sentence is not identical with the subject of the preceding sentence, but with its object: then, however, it is not possible to use the absolutive and the author has to resort to the participium conjunctum. Thus used, the verbal adjective clearly expresses the state of being effected by a preceding action. This use, which occurs frequently, harmonizes with its character as a verb. adj. 1, 1, 3, 5 *tam indro jaghāna. sa hataḥ pūtiḥ sarvata evāpo 'bhipra susrāva* "him Indra slew. He being slain flowed forth ... towards the water". In the same manner, when the preceding sentence is subordinated: 2, 4, 1 *índro ha yátra vṛtrā́ya vájraṃ prajahā́ra, sá práhṛtaś catúrdhābhavat,* translated by Eggeling: "when I. hurled the thunderbolt at V., that hurled one became fourfold". See also 1, 3, 4, 6 (2 ×); 7 (2 ×); 9, 2, 1, 2, 6; 3, 1, 32; 33; 5, 2, 30; 5, 3, 3; 6, 1, 23. The verbal adjective used in this way may be intransitive: 2, 4, 4, 20 ... *āhutibhyo 'dhijanayati; sa eṣa āhutibhyo jātaḥ...* When the verbal adjective is intransitive and the subject of the subjoined sentence is identical with the former subject the same construction is possible: 1, 4, 27 ...*tad asyāṃ pratiṣṭhāyām pratitiṣṭhati; so 'syāṃ pratiṣṭhita ādhatte...* The subject of the second sentence is neither identical with the subject of the former sentence nor with its object: 5, 4, 7 *iyaṃ* (*pṛthivī*) *haivainaṃ badhāya pratipradadāv anayā haivainaṃ pratiprattaṃ jaghnuḥ*; 1, 9, 2, 26; after a -*yá*-form: 2, 4, 4, 22 *retaḥ sicyate; tad ṛtavo retaḥ siktam imāḥ prajāḥ prajanayanti.* Now and then the recapitulating verb. adj. forms part of an absolute locative: 2, 1, 2, 16 *tām* (a brick) *abhipadyābabarha; tasyām ābṛdhāyām agnir vyavaśaśāda*; 5, 2, 30. There is an example of its being used without a substantive: 1, 3, 1, 3 ...*nirṇenekty evainā etan nirṇiktābhiḥ pracarāṇīti* "he in reality rinses them, thinking 'with these that have been rinsed I will proceed'". Only occasionally the participle *sant-* is added to a verbal adjective: 1, 8, 1, 17 ...*samavadyati. samavattām eva satīṃ tad enāṃ pratyakṣaṃ hotari śrayati* "he now cuts off ... in the hand of the hotar. That which is cut up piece by piece he thus makes visibly enter the hotar"; here the subject remains the same and so the absolutive might have been used, but the construction chosen lays stress on the patiens, not on the action, and the addition of *satīm* seems to point out that the action has taken place and that the result is an accomplished fact. Now and then one or

two other sentences are found between the personal form of the verb and the verbal adjective: 1, 2, 4, 7 *saṃśyaty evainam ... iti yadi ... iti brūyāt tena saṃśitena nātmānam upaspṛśati* "he makes it sharp. When he (further) says..., let him ... say.... When it has been sharpened, he must not touch himself with it". From time to time we meet with a verb. adj. used in this manner without a preceding personal form of the same verb: then the meaning has to be concluded from the context: 1, 1, 4, 15 "'Manu, we will sacrifice for thee ... with this bull':: 'so be it'. On his (the bull's) being killed the voice went from him": *tasyālabdhasya sā vāg apacakrāma*. As for the verb. adj. being accompanied by an oblique case, we may point out some interesting cases: 2, 5, 1, 1 *sa prajā asṛjata; tā asya prajāḥ sṛṣṭāḥ parābabhūvuḥ*. Now, Eggeling has translated this text as follows: "he created living beings. The l. b. created by him passed away". But, § 2, it reads *sa dvitīyāḥ sasṛjc tā asya paraiva babhūvuḥ* etc. and, § 3, *anaśanatayā vai me prajāḥ parābhavanti* "my creatures pass away from want of food". In § 3 the word *me* may be most probably considered as a possessive genitive, though a genitive of damage [43] would be possible too; in § 2, however, the words *tā asya* etc. taken as a thing apart, I should like to give the preference to a genitive of damage, which would be also possible in § 1. But § 3 it reads *sa prajā asṛjata; tā asya prajāḥ sṛṣṭāḥ... sambabhūvuḥ,* and here Eggeling's translation seems to be correct: "the beings created by him ... continued to exist". So *asya* in § 1 may be considered too as a genitivus agentis, but its connection with other employments of this case is perfectly clear [44]. 2, 5, 2, 1 only a gen. agentis is possible: *prajāḥ sasṛje tā asya prajāḥ sṛṣṭā varuṇasya yavān jakṣuh.* The verb. adj. is accompanied by an instr. of instrument: 1, 2, 5, 8 (if we may take this text as an instance of a nominativus pendens) *so 'yaṃ viṣṇur glānaḥ, chandobhir abhitaḥ parigṛhītaḥ ...nāpakramaṇam āsa.* I have not met with an instance of an instrum. agentis, but 5, 2, 2 presents a tatpuruṣa-compound of which the first member represents an instrum.: *tā varuṇo jagrāha; tā varuṇagṛhītāḥ paridīrṇāḥ* "... on being seized by V., they became...". It is worth mentioning that there exists also a nominal recapitulating construction: 2, 1, 2, 16 *agnir vyavaśaśādāgner vyavaśādam anv asurā vyavaśeduḥ* "... and along with the falling fire-altar the Asuras fell down".

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[43] See Speyer, Sanskrit Syntax, § 131.
[44] See Delbrück, Altindische Syntax, § 106.

4) Some of the peculiarities treated under 3 present themselves also when the verbal adjective does not recapitulate the contents of the preceding sentence. It is used without a substantive: 1, 1, 1, 21 *no anāptāḥ sādayet* "... nor should he put (the water) down before reaching..."; 8, 1, 16; 2, 4, 3, 9; 4, 4, 25 *upahūta upahvayasveti*; 5, 2, 29. The verb. adj. is accompanied by an instr. of means or instrument: 2, 6, 1, 6 *dugdhe sakṛd upamathita ekaśalākayā* "(being mixed) with the milk... by stirring it once with a single splinter"; cp. also 5, 2, 14 *karambhapātrāṇi kurvanti yāvanto gṛhyāḥ syus tāvanti ekenātiriktāni* "... exceeded by one"; by a pure instr. agentis: 1, 9, 1, 2 ...*yo yajate; etena hy uktā ṛtvijas tanvate* "...since it is by his order that the priests spread it".

5) The verbal adjectives used in this manner are more than once compounded with a preceding adverbial element: thus with the negative *a-* or *an-*: 1, 1, 1, 18; 8, 3, 24 *yad vā anādiṣṭaṃ devatāyai havir gṛhyate* "when any sacrificial food is taken without being announced to any one deity"; 9, 2, 32; 2, 1, 4, 26; 5, 3, 16; 17; 1, 3, 1, 6, which forms at the same time a good instance of the employment of these adjectives as equivalent to our adverbs: *yathānuparato yajamānasya sapatnān kṣiṇuyāt* "that it may unceasingly destroy the enemies...".

6) The particle *iva* is added twice: 1, 2, 2, 16 (thinking:) *ned veva nagna iva muṣita iva śayātai.*

Of these occurrences ± 40 refer to a non-personal notion, 5 to an animal, 6 to a god, 4 to a dragon, 6 to 'creatures' or 'beings', 13 to a human person.

E. Rarely a verbal adjective serves as an adverb: perhaps 1, 3, 3, 6 *praklptaṃ haivāsya strī vijāyata iti,* according to Eggeling *p.* means "without a difficulty", according to Sāyaṇa, however, "a completely formed (child)". Such cases as 1, 9, 3, 3 *saṃtatam avyavachinnaṃ ninayati* are not to be considered as adverbs: cp. 1, 3, 5, 13; 16 etc.

F. There are a good many instances of a verbal adjective forming part of a compound.

1) The verb. adj. is the last member of the compound: 1, 1, 1, 1 *pavitrapūtaḥ*; 1, 2, 9 *agnidagdham*; 17 *savitṛprasūtaḥ*; 1, 3, 6; 2, 4, 4; 2, 5, 4, 5; 1, 4, 19 *varṣavṛddham*; 2, 1, 6 *yajuṣkṛtaḥ*; 2, 3, 1 *caturdhāvihitaḥ*; 2, 5, 14 *puruṣasaṃmitā*; 3, 1, 24 *ājyaliptābhyām*; 8, 1, 12 *pañcāvattā*; 17 *ātmaṃchṛtayā*; 9, 2, 35 *sunirbhakta-* (2 ×); 2, 2, 4, 15 *prathamadugdham*; 3, 1, 9 *hutocchiṣṭam,* 39 *agnihotrocchiṣṭam*; 4, 4, 5 *purohitaḥ*; 5, 2, 2 *varuṇagṛhītāḥ*; 47 *devakṛtam* etc.; 6, 1, 6 *agniṣvāttebhyaḥ*; 48 *havirucchiṣṭam.*

2) The verb. adj. forms the first member: 1, 2, 3, 9 *apakrānta-medhāḥ*; 2, 5, 5 *yajñasaṃmitam*; 16 *vimṛṣṭāntarāṃsā*; 9, 2, 12 etc. *samiṣṭayajuḥ*; 2, 1, 3, 4 *anapahatapāpmānaḥ*; 2, 3, 17 *kṛtakarmā*; 3, 1, 9 *uditahominām*; 11 *hutocchiṣṭasya*; 5, 2, 48 *utsannayajñaḥ*; 6, 1, 37 *āhitāgniḥ*.

3) The verb. adj. appears in a longer compound: apart from 2, 5, 2, 42 *sūktavāka-*: 5, 3, 16 *havirucchiṣṭāśāḥ*. So, these compounds are, on the whole, rather simple and not elaborated.

II—THE GERUNDIVES

The gerundives, of which I have listed 14 cases (exclusive of the occurrences entered under E), are used in various ways, but never as pure attributives: A as predicates without the attendance of the verbum substantivum (7 ×): 2, 2, 3, 3 they said: *kim iha kartavyam* "what is to be done here?"; 2, 4, 8 = 18 *agnihotraṃ hotavyam*; 12 *tasmād eṣopajīvanīyā* (*eṣā*: the cow); 5, 2, 33 with an attending instrumental *yat kiṃ ca vācā kartavyam* (instr. of accomp. circumst.); with a personal subject... 1, 9, 3, 2 *prati tam oṣato yaḥ pratyuṣyo 'ty u taṃ sṛjete yo 'tisṛjyaḥ* "they scorch him who deserves to be scorched, and allow him to pass who deserves to pass"; also: *martya-* "mortal" 2, 1, 3, 9. B as predicates accompanied by the verb *bhū-* (2 ×): 2, 6, 1, 12 *harati yad dhāryaṃ bhavati* "removes (the dust) which has to be removed"; with a personal subject 2, 4, 12 *upajīvanīyo ha vai bhavati ya ... veda* "he is affording a livelihood who knows...". The comparison of these two groups, A and B, seems to show that, on the whole, the gerundive accompanied by *bhavati* emphasizes the being in a state to be ... of a person or a thing[45], whereas the mere gerundive in first line expresses what must happen. C the gerundive is used as a predicate, but the subject is not expressed: 1, 2, 3, 9 *tasmād eteṣāṃ paśūnāṃ nāśitavyam* "for this reason one should not eat of these animals" (partitive genitive); the same impersonal (neutral) construction, but with the attendance of an instrumental expressing the agens: 9, 3, 16 (quotation from Yājñavalkya) *tad dhy eva brāhmaṇenaiṣṭavyaṃ yad brahmavarcasī syād iti* "for this the B. should strive, that he be...". D the gerundive has been added as a predicate to a noun or a pronoun which depends on a verb: 2, 2, 4, 16 (they

[45] Compare Speyer, Sanskrit Syntax, § 3 Rem.: "*bhavati* is the proper verb, if there be laid some stress on the predicate, in other terms, if it be pointed out that the subject is invested with the dignity or possesses the quality predicated of it".

said:) *sa yasmai na idaṃ prathamāya hotavyaṃ vakṣyati...* "to whichever of us he says it shall be offered first..."; the substantive has not been expressed 2, 6, 1, 33 (quotation from Āsuri) *prāśitavyaṃ tv eva vayaṃ manyāmaha iti* "but we think that some should be eaten"; 1, 2, 3, 2 the gerundive is subjoined to a genitive denoting the object of the verb *vid-* "to know": *tasya haite 'pi badhyasya vidāñcakruḥ* "they also knew of his going to be killed". E 1 the gerundive may be used as a substantive: *havyam* "oblation" 1, 1, 2, 23; *ādya-* "which is to be eaten, food" e.g. 1, 3, 2, 11 (beside *attar-* "eater"); 8, 2, 17; 8, 3, 6; *anūbandhyā* (viz. *gauḥ*) term denoting a barren cow which "has to be bound afterwards" 2, 4, 4, 14; cp. also the term *āhavanīya* (e.g. 2, 3, 1, 7) "the eastern of the three sacrificial fires" (litt. "which has to accept the offerings"). 2 this substantive may appear as the second (last) member of a compound: *devayajyā* = "worship of the gods". — So, there are 5 examples of a personal subject and one of an instrumentalis agentis.

III—THE PRESENT-SYSTEM, FORMED WITH -YÁ-

I have listed about 110 instances of personal forms of the present-system of this class, which belong, however, to a rather restricted number of roots, certain forms being used very frequently: *kriyáte* (± 30 times), *gṛhyáte, hūyáte,* etc. Only a few instances are met with of forms that are not indicatives: *vyārdhyanta, atapyata, aśīryata, dhriyekan, nirmucyeta, mucyātai.* The forms of this present-system are hardly [illegible]sed with a noun or a proper name expressing the agens and in [illegible] we never find a nominal case (e.g. an instrumental) deter- [illegible] action expressed by the verb. But, although they serve to [illegible]tive actions, they are not restricted to the sphere of pure [illegible]or clearness' sake the most striking modes of using [illegible]ll be severally treated.

[illegible]nsitives are found: 1, 1, 4, 22 where an energetic form [illegible]rb precedes *eṣa vā idaṃ sarvaṃ vivinakti yad idaṃ* [illegible]*te* "(it is the wind) that separates everything here (on [illegible]dergoes separation"; 2, 4, 1 *aśīryata* (2 ×): *tasmāc charo* [illegible]*śīryata* "hence the designation arrow, because it was broken [illegible]2, 2, 2 *tā u hy etad ubhayyaḥ saṃpṛcyante,* but in the same § the [illegible]rb *saṃgacchante* is used ('mingle, unite'), the saṃhitā-text quoted (Vāj. S. 1, 21) has *pṛcyantām*; 3, 3, 4 *yā prokṣaṇyaḥ pariśiṣyante* "the sprinkling-water which is left"; 9, 1, 2, 18 *atiricyate* "it remains (over)"; 2, 1, 3, 1 *ya evāpūryate 'rdhamāsaḥ ... yo 'pakṣīyate* "the

half-moon which increases ... that which decreases"; 4, 4, 15; 18; 19; 1, 2, 2, 5 *evaṃ u haiṣa ātmā yajñasya saṃdhīyate* "and thus this body of the sacrifice forms itself into a unit". The action expressed by the verb may also refer to persons (gods, demons and other divine or non-human beings of this kind included); the cases are the following: 2, 6, 2, 12 *yo mṛtyor mucyātai* "who shall be detached (loose, severed) from death", in the text quoted from Vāj. S. (3, 60 a) in the same § we find the middle aorist *mukṣīya* without difference of meaning; 5, 2, 25 *tasmāt sarvasmāt pramucyāmahe* "from all that we rid ourselves"; 1, 2, 4, 10 *mucyante* (2 ×) "escape"; 2, 3, 1, 6 *sa yathāhis tvaco nirmucyeta, evaṃ rātreḥ ... nirmucyate, ... sarvasmāt pāpmano nirmucyate yo ...* "even as a snake frees itself from its skin, etc." (also 5, 2, 47); ibid. *vi hi sṛjyante yathārtham* "they are free". The verb *dhriyáte* "maintains itself; turn the mind on, be determined to" is 'passive' by its form, although it is not used in a 'passive' sense 2, 2, 3, 20 *yadi pavamānāya dhriyeran* "if they determine upon (offering to) Agni Pavamāna"; 23. The verb *vyṛdhyate* may be dealt with under this head: 3, 1, 7 *tad vā asmai tad vyṛdhyate* "he fails in it". Of these cases 14 refer to a non-personal 'patiens' ('subject of the passive sentence') 8 (+ 2 × *dhṛ-*) to a personal 'patiens', three times the 'patiens' is an animal.

B. Facts or actions which suppose the activity of an actor or which, at least, usually appear only resultant from the preceding activity of an actor, may be stated in such a way that only their coming to pass, not the actors, the beings which effect the process, stands out. Whereas the examples quoted under A are used without any reference to an 'agens', in the following cases, which are comparatively speaking numerous, it is possible (perhaps I should rather say: it may, on occasion, be possible) to mention the actor who has (or who had) a hand in the matter. Thus the form *kriyáte* occurs very often to denote "take place, come to pass, is brought about, is effected, is done", e.g. 1, 1, 1, 18 "he (i.e. the Adhvaryu priest) pours out some water into the jug and puts it down north of the Gārhapatya fire. For water is female and fire is male, and the Gārhapatya is a house: hence a copulation productive of offspring takes place thereby in this house": *tad gṛheṣv evaitan mithunaṃ prajananaṃ kriyate.* It is not the Adhvaryu priest who effects the copulation, but the two elements, the female water and the male fire; the act, however, becomes only possible by the preceding actions of the priest. Other examples are: 3, 1, 18 the woman looks down upon the sacrificial butter, which represents seed: hence "a pro-

ductive union is thereby brought about"; 1, 2, 1, 1; 2; 2, 5, 15; 9, 2, 6; etc.; 2, 2, 5 the Adhvaryu places the cake over the fire, the Āgnīdhra puts the clarified butter on: these two acts take place simultaneously: *tad vā etad ubhayaṃ saha kriyate*; 3, 3, 18 *abhyādhānāya hy evedhmaḥ kriyate* "for the firewood is prepared for the purpose of being put upon the fire" (this firewood had been brought by the Āgnīdhra-priest, but it has not been mentioned in the preceding part of the text); 3, 1, 26 Yājñavalkya said: ... *kathaṃ svayaṃ nānvāhur yatra bhūyasya ivāśiṣaḥ kriyante* "and why do not they (the sacrificers) themselves recite when far higher blessings are prayed for?"[46]; 8, 1, 36; 2, 5. 19 *saṃgrāmo vai krūraṃ saṃgrāme hi krūraṃ kriyate* "the bloody one is the battle, for in battle bloody deeds come to pass (are done)"; 9, 2, 14 *prastarasyaiva rūpaṃ k.*; 2, 4, 4, 25; 1, 9, 3, 4 *yad vai yajñasya mithyā k.* "where anything is done wrongly at the sacrifice"; moreover: 2, 4, 4, 20; 5, 1, 14; 5, 2, 23; 6, 3, 9.

There are some standing phrases: 1, 2, 1, 18 he (viz. the Adhvaryu) pours the rice on the lower stone... *ity u hi havir gṛhyate* "it is with the intention ... that the rice-oblation is taken" (Eggeling); *h.g.* also 22; 1, 4, 9; 8, 3, 24; 2, 4, 3, 9; *ājyāni gṛhyante* 1, 3, 2, 7; 16. 2, 2, 4, 6 "Prajāpati was aware that it was his own (*sva-*) greatness that had spoken (*āha*) to him. He offered it up with '*svāhā!*' This is why offerings complete themselves with *svāhā*": *sa svāhetyevājuhot tasmād u svāhetyeva hūyate*; *hūyate* 'without a subject' also 3, 1, 36; 3, 1, 23 *āhutir hūyate*; 29. Another 'etymological figure' is 2, 5, 2, 23 *aśanam aśyate*. 1, 8, 2, 7; = 9, 2, 26 *yābhya eṣa* (=*y. devatābhya*) *yajñas tāyate* "for whichever deities this sacrifice is performed" (Eggeling); 27; 2, 2, 4, 13. 1, 2, 3, 5 *paśur ha vā eṣa ālabhyate yat puroḍāśaḥ* "now it is as an animal sacrifice that the sacrificial cake is an offering" (this cake being a substitute for the animal sacrifice); 2, 4, 4, 22 *retaḥ sicyate* "a discharge of semen takes place"; 5, 2, 46 *sāma gīyate*. 'Without a subject': 2, 1, 2, 12 *ya ichet pra me dīyeteti* "whosoever should wish that (presents) should be offered him" (Eggeling) ...*yad dhastena pradīyate pra haivāsmai dīyate* "for whatever is a present with the hand, that indeed is a present to him"; compare such nominal sentences as 2, 4, 4, 21 *tasmād eṣātra payasyā bhavati* "therefore there is an offering of curds". *vaṣaṭkriyáte*: 2, 5, 2, 33; 8, 2, 15, where also *devatāyai hūyate*. Personal 'subjects' are seldom found.

Now and then at the beginning of a certain part of the text the

[46] J. Eggeling, The Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa translated I, p. 77 (and n. 2).

active verb and the noun which denotes the actor are found, but further on the *-yá*-form is used and the actor remains in the background. Although the *-yá*-form denotes an action effected by a person who is known to the reader, the author does not take an interest in this person, but intends to throw light upon the process which comes to pass. Thus, 1, 1, 1, 12 ff., while discussing the preparation of the offerings, the author informs us several times that the Adhvaryu 'brings forward the water': 12 *apaḥ praṇayati*; ibid.; 13; 14; 16; 17; 18; then, 20, he says: *tā uttareṇāhavanīyaṃ praṇayati* "he then carries it north of the Ā.-fire"; in doing so, (21) the Adhvaryu is forbidden to carry it beyond the north side of the fire, or to put it down before reaching this side; for, if he were to put it down before gaining that side, he would not obtain by it the fulfilment of the wish *yasmai kāmāya praṇīyante* "for which the bringing forward has taken place". 1, 8, 3, 1 ff. the separation of the two spoons (juhū and upabhṛt) is dealt with: *sa vai srucau vyūhati* etc.; the reason why the priest separates them is set forth in § 5 ..."behind the j. stands the eater, behind the u. the one to be eaten: thus he now brings the eater to the east (to the front) and the one to be eaten he drives toward the west (he drives back)"; then, § 6, it runs: *tad vā etat samāna eva karman vyātikriyate* "thus the separation comes to pass in one and the same act", here stress is laid on the words *samāna eva karman* which supply the starting-point for the next link of the argument: "hence from one and the same man spring both the 'eater' (enjoyer, husband), and the one to be enjoyed (the wife)", and it is only the separation which has come to pass in one and the same act in which the author feels interested, in § 6 the person who has brought it about is quite immaterial. Cp. also 1, 1, 2, 18-19 *havir grahīṣyantam*: *gṛhyante*; 8, 1, 38-39 *nāgnau juhvati*: *prāṇeṣv eva hūyate*; 8, 2, 10. The 'subjects' are non-personal.

C. In a restricted number of cases an instrumental attends a *-yá*-form to denote the accompanying circumstances or the cause by which the action happens to be. After having taught (2, 1, 4, 5) that three sticks of aśvattha wood have to be put on the fire with (= while muttering) a certain set of ṛg-verses (...*ṛgbhir abhyādadhati*), the author deals (§ 6) with the fire unto which an oblation is made with a ṛg-verse etc.: *yasminn agnāv ṛcā ... āhutiṃ va juhuyāt,* and § 10 he quotes a question in which the same instrumental attends on a *-yá*-form: *yan narcā ... agnir ādhīyate kenādhīyate* "if the fire is not set up with a ṛg-verse..., wherewith then is it set up" (Eggeling); in the

answer the author construes *brahmaṇādhīyate* "with the brahman it is set up" (E.) and *satyenaivādhīyate*; cp. also §§ 11-13; 3, 1, 30 (2 ×); 5, 2, 46. 2, 6, 1, 3 *yad u caivāsyātrātmano 'caraṇena hanyate vā mīyate vā tad u caivāsyaitena punar āpyāyate* "and whatever perishes or becomes lost to him (whatever injury or loss he suffers) through his own unrighteous conduct that becomes thereby complete (uninjured etc.) to him". It is only once that I have found an instance of an instrumental denoting the persons who exerted influence to bring about a certain result, and in this case it still seems more correct to use the term instrumental of means or influencing circumstances than instrumental of agens: 1, 8, 1, 34 *yasya hi prajā bhavaty eka ātmanā bhavaty athota daśadhā prajayā haviṣ kriyate tasmāt prajā bhūyo haviṣkaraṇam* "for who possesses offspring, — though he, of his own self, be one only, yet that offering comes to pass (is made) tenfold by influence of (by) his offspring: hence offspring means more abundant offering"[47]. Moreover, I have to deal with two texts: 1, 9, 2, 8 *tira iva vai mithunena caryate* "secretly, doubtless, union takes place": cp. 5, 2, 15 *yatra haivam ṛtvijaḥ saṃvidānā yajñena caranti* "where the officiating priests thus with a perfect mutual understanding deal with the sacrifice", 9, 2, 8 the construction is impersonal. 2, 1, 2, 4 *tā mithunena vyārdhyanta* "they were deprived of intercourse": instrumental attending on words expressive of separation and disjunction. So, in all cases, a thing, not a living person, is 'subject' of the *-yá*-form.

D. The idiom *tapas tapyate* (a 'passive' with etymological object[48]) is met with 2, 2, 4, 1; 5, 1, 1. That many a '*-ya*-form-sentence' can be translated by an active phrase is, of course, of no moment, cf. 2, 5, 2, 47. There are several nominal constructions admitting of a 'passive' translation, e.g. 2, 3, 1, 36 *nāsya sā paricakṣā* "here no offence is committed".

I have found only two imperatives of the *-yá*-form, both of which are in a quotation: 1, 2, 1, 13 (Vāj. S. 1, 18) *tapyadhvam*; 2, 2, 2 (Vāj. S. 1, 21) *pṛcyantām*.

A small number of participles of the *-yá*-form are met with, of which one forms part of an absolute construction; most of them are used as attributes or 'appositions' expressing attendant circumstances: 2, 5, 2, 19 in a formula *agnaye samidhyamānāyānubrūhi* "recite to the fire that is being kindled"; 1, 1, 1, 20 *nen mithunaṃ caryamāṇam*

[47] Cf. Delbrück, Altindische Syntax, § 91.

[48] See Speyer, Sanskrit Syntax, § 319; R. 2.

antareṇa saṃcarān iti "... the copulation which is taking place"; 3, 2, 1 *eṣa vai tāyamāno yāvān eva puruṣas tāvān vidhīyate* "in being spread it (the sacrifice) is made of exactly the same extent as the man"; 6; 2, 2, 4, 17 we find twice *hūyamānasya* "the offered (milk)" without a substantive; 1, 2, 5, 20 *sa vā upary-upary eva prokṣaṇīṣu dhāryamāṇāsv atha sphyam udyachati* "while the sprinkling-water is being held close above the wooden sword...". The 'subject' is always a thing.

IV—OTHER FORMS AND JAIMINĪYABRĀHMAṆA

There are only a few middle forms which ought to be mentioned: 1, 8, 1, 6 "The flood swept away all these creatures" *manur evaikaḥ pariśiśiṣe* "M. alone remained" (pure intrans.): 2, 4, 4, 20 (the moon) *paścād dadṛśe* "is visible" (id.); 5, 1, 13 "if (the Maruts) destroy these (creatures), then nothing will be left" *na tataḥ kiṃ cana pariśekṣyate.*

The a o r i s t ending in *-i* is rare: 1, 1, 1, 3 in a quotation from Vāj. S. 2, 28a *tan me 'rādhīti* "that has succeeded for me" (intr.) and taken over into the text; 1, 4, 8 *eṣa hi yajña ulūkhale pratyaṣṭhād eṣa hi prāsāri* "the sacrifice has now obtained a firm footing..., it has become diffused" (Eggeling); *prāsāri,* however, is rather, like the intransitive active forms, "has begun" ("in Gang kommen" Pet. Wtb.).

In the Jaiminīya-brāhmaṇa the *-yá*-forms are rather often found: in Caland's Auswahl there are about 150 instances. Most of them are without any doubt intrans., at times we may render the Sanskrit form by a reflexive construction. Other *-yá*-forms which occur beside the active forms derived from the same root may be considered as 'agentless passives' etc., but it is very difficult, nay impossible, to draw a hard and fast line between these groups; as a rule the meaning of the verb, which is an insufficient criterion, turns the scale. Among the *-ya*-forms there are a large number of indicatives, imperf., however, are not rare. The following are intrans.: 17[49] *acchidyata* "brach"; 127 *avacchidyante* + abl. "sich trennen von"; 168 (p. 221, l. 78) *avacchidyāmahai*; 200 *tad vyacchidyata* "dadurch trat eine Unterbrechung ein"; 15 *asṛjyanta* "sie machten den Start"; 17; 203 "kamen hervor" (2 ×); 207 (passim); 23 *pariśiṣyeta* "übrig bleiben"; 116; 144 *saṃśeṣaḥ samaśiṣyata*; 88 *ati-ric-* "übrig bleiben"; 147b *atiricyante* "hinausreichen, überschüssig sein"; ibid.; 136 (p. 159) *hīyate* "bleibt zurück"; ibid.; 168 *mā hīyadhvam*; 177; 140 *nirmucyeta* "sich befreit"; ibid.; 150, 5 *pacyate*; 180 "wurde gar"; 164 *pra śīryate* "get torn,

[49] = Caland, Das Jaiminīya-brāhmaṇa in Auswahl (1919), n° 17.

burst"; 176 *paryadṛśyata* "wurde sichtbar"; ibid.; 184 *pariśuṣyate* "shrinks in"; 116 *avakīryate* "forsakes"; 124 *kṣīyate* "vergehen"[50]; 70 *saṃ asmai sa kāma ṛdhyate* "das geht ihm in Erfüllung"; 78; 177; 180; 186; 192; 208 *prāvlīyata* "er knickte zusammen"; 179 *paropyate* "geht verloren"; 168 (p. 221) *mīyate* "abnehmt (an Lebenskraft)"; 60; 45 *ākhyāyate* "heisst"; 47; 54 etc.; 47 *vyavṛhyanta* (2×) "got torn, burst"; 212 *nirabhidyata*; 169 *procyate*; 90 *ādriyeta*[51] "heed"; 139. An 'agentless pass.', Fr. *on* etc.: 23 *pradīyate* "wird hingegeben", "on donne"; ibid. opt.; 149; 53 *sūyate*; 59 *adhigamyate* (2 ×) "wird gefunden"; 102 *dakṣiṇā nīyante*; 107 *pratidhīyate* "man legt"; 136 *anūcyate* "wird überliefert"; 199; 147b *kriyate* "findet statt"; 165; 168; 168 (p. 220) *jīyate, hīyate*; 167 *upadhīyate*; 99 *āvṛścyate* "er wird abgetrennt"; 101 *yujyate* "wird verwendet"; 253 *śiro 'cchidyata* (2 ×) "es wurde ... abgetrennt"; 129 *retaḥ sicyate*; 164; 182 *asṛjyanta* (2 ×) "kamen ins Dasein", oder "wurden entlassen, wurde erschaffen" (Caland); 30; 44; 104; 106; 164 (stanza) *upadhīyate*. (The agens remains in the background:) 103 *vṛṣṭiḥ pradīyate*; 200. (The agens is known, but not expressed:) 9 *prajāpatiḥ prajā asṛjata ... agniḥ ... asṛjyata*; cf. also 63 *anuśasyate*; 128 *stūyate* etc. (6 ×); 171 *kriyate* "wird angewandt"; 200; 206; 171 *ājyata*. At times the -*yá*-form is attended by an accus., which, then, depends on the praeverbium: 5 *punarmṛtyū atimucyate*; 106 *rathantaraṃ te 'nvasṛjyanta* (ibid. *tad anu ... 'sṛjyanta*); 99; 182; 206; *ādriyate* + acc. 161. The turn *tapo 'tapyata* is found 143[52]. -*yá*-form attended by an instr. separ.: 13 *rūpeṇa ... vyṛdhyante* "sie verlieren die Schönheit" (2 ×); + instr. relat.: 146 *vācā samṛdhyante* "sie gedeihen inbezug auf die Rede"; ibid.; + instr. instr. 11 *tenāsmāl lokān nāvacchidyate*; 144; 196 *prāṇair u yajñas tāyate*; ibid.; 23 *pavamānena ... annādyaṃ pradīyate*; 60 *etena punar āhriyate yat ...*; 62 *tenaiva saṃdhīyate*. There are no examples of an instr. agentis; 107 Caland has proposed: *tad yad evaṃvidā yajñāyajñīyam antataḥ kriyate* "wenn also das Y. von einem solches Wissenden am Ende gemacht wird", the mss. have *evaṃvidhiṃ*; perhaps *evaṃvidhaṃ*?

The part. praes. pass. is an attrib. or appos.: 107 *vaster bhidyamānasya*; 164 *anutsṛjyamānaḥ*; 168 (p. 222); 171; 176; 185 *āditsyamānam*: 207 (3 ×); + *man-*: 102 *hīyamānāmanyata* (2 ×); *ādriyamāna-* + acc. 47; as a subst. 116; loc. abs. 104 (2 ×); 204. With an instr. ag.: 180 *yathā rājñā brāhmaṇo 'numantryamāṇa āgacched evam.*

[50] See W. D. Whitney, A Sanskrit Grammar, § 761.
[51] See Whitney, o.c., § 773.
[52] See Pāṇini 3, 1, 88.

Other personal forms are rare: fut.: *vicchetsyante* (e conj.) "werden zunichte gehen"; an aor. 200 (they said) *vyacchedi*; perf.: 191 *pariśiśiṣe*; *dadhre* [53] + inf.: 205 *nartitum dadhre.*

The intrans. -*yá*-forms are used in the same way as the intrans. forms, which belong to the fourth class; cf., e.g., 76 *avapadyate* "geht verlustig"; 86 (stanza) *rathād avapadyate* "stürzt hinab"; 146 *muhyanti* "gehen irre" etc.

Aitareya-Āraṇyaka

In the Aitareya-Āraṇyaka, of which I examined 1, 1-3, 1 (p. 75-132 K.), the -*tá*- and -*yá*-forms are the normal predicates of subjectless (agentless) sentences. Cp., e.g., 1, 1, 2 *nyūne vai retaḥ sicyate ... nyūne 'nnādyaṃ pratiṣṭhitam.* The ppp. is used as a predicate: 1, 1, 2 *pratiṣṭhitam,* 4 *yad vai niṣkṛtaṃ* (quoted) *tat saṃskṛtam*; 2, 4 *saṃmitāḥ*; 3, 2 *śritāḥ* (ibid. *sarve hāsmin kāmāḥ śrayante,* see also 2, 1, 4); 4 (after a quotation *yato jajña ugraḥ...*) *ato hy eṣa jāta ugraḥ* "for from it he was born who is terrible"; 3, 8 *viṣṭāḥ*; 2, 1, 1 *niviṣṭāḥ* (after *ni ... viviśre* in a quotation); *āviṣṭaḥ*; 2, 4 *tad vā idaṃ bṛhatīsahasraṃ saṃpannam* "this is produced as..."; 2, 3, 6 *mitam*; 8 *āgatam*; 2, 5 *saṃtatāḥ*; 3, 1, 2 *āyattaḥ.* In the case of several verbs the same form often recurs.

An instr. instrumenti etc. is added: 2, 1, 6 *nāmabhir dāmabhiḥ sarvaṃ sitam* (cf. ibid. *tantisaṃbaddhāḥ*); *chandobhiś channaḥ*; *prāṇenāvṛtam*;*prāṇena ... viṣṭabdha-*; 7 *vācā sṛṣṭau pṛthivī.* An instr. 'agentis' is met with in the frequent turn 2, 1, 4 etc. *tad ... ṛṣiṇoktam* "a ṛṣi says, there is an utterance of an ṛṣi"; we have to remember that a ṛṣi is not the author of mantras, but only the 'mouth-piece'. At times such an instr. may, in a sense, be conceived as an instr. ag.: 2, 3, 5 *ātmā sarvataḥ śarīraiḥ parivṛtaḥ* "the self is surrounded on all sides by members". See also 2, 3, 6 *āttaṃ vai bhūyasā kanīyaḥ.* An interesting passage is 2, 4, 3 *yadi vācābhivyāhṛtaṃ yadi prāṇenābhiprāṇitam* etc. (8 ×) *atha ko 'ham* "if speech pronounces words" (Keith), but a more accurate rendering is: "if pronouncing takes place by (means of) speech..."; it is open to question who is the real author. So these predicative ppp. denote a result, a condition, a state; their adjectival character is obvious, cf. also 2, 3, 6 where *riktam* and *pūrṇam* "empty" and "full" are used by the side of *ricyate.* There are neither instances of ppp. denoting actions nor of real instr. ag. added to them. Their adjectival character is also apparent from the

[53] Cf. Whitney, o.c., § 773.

considerable number of negative forms (1, 2, 2 *aniruktaḥ* "undefined"; 5, 2, *ananuṣaktā*; 2, 3, 6 *amitam*, etc.) and compounds (1, 1, 3 *rūpa-samṛddham*; 2, 4, 2 *sukṛtam*), from such turns as 2, 1, 5 ... *ity etat tad uktam bhavati* "this is the meaning", "thus it is said", cf. also 3, 1, 3 instr. *ubhayaṃ vyāptaṃ bhavati* (instr. instr.), and 1, 2, 3 *madhyata udbhṛte syātām* "let them be raised in the middle", 3, 4 with an instr., from the neutral use (e.g. 1, 1, 1 *ekam iti tv eva sthitam* "but the established rule is one").

Gerundives. The turn *tat tan nādriyam* occurs several times (e.g. 1, 2, 3) [54].

The personal forms in *-yá-* are, in the complete text, rather numerous. The *-yá-* present is either intrans.: 1, 2, 3 *dṛśyete* "seem", 2, 3, 2 "is visible"; 3, 2, 4 "appear, seem to be"; 1, 3, 5 *prasṛjyante* "spring from"; 2, 1, 4 *tad aśīryata* "it was decayed" (*aśārīty* "(men said) it had decayed" is the actual past: aor.); 1, 7 *jīryate* "decay"; 2, 4, 1 *nirabhidyata* "burst forth"; perhaps 1, 4, 1 *pratyacyante* [55]; 2, 3, 3 *adhigamyante*; 6 *ricyate*; 1, 2, 4 *ucchidyai* "to lose his hold". The agens is quite immaterial or 'general': 1, 1, 2 *retaḥ 'sicyate* "the seed is poured out"; 4 *kriyate* "is done, takes place"; 5, 1 *āpyante*; *saṃskriyante*; 2 *āpyate* "is gained"; ibid. *vāg udyate;* 1, 3, 7; 2, 3, 1 *samopyate*; 5, 1 *pratidhīyate* "is appointed". The subject may be expressed by "people, man", Fr. "on" 1, 2, 4 *kriyate*; (there is no subject) 4, 3 *rūpaṃ kriyate* "the form is given"; 5, 3; 2, 3, 4 *anuśasyante*; 4, 2 *havir gṛhyate.* The subject has been mentioned or may be inferred from the context, but is left unexpressed in the sentence 1, 4, 8 *āpyate* "is pervaded"; 2, 1, 5 *prātāyata.* The *-ya-* form is attended by an inst. instr.: 1, 3, 3 *vācā hi nāmadheyāni dhīyante* "for by speech names are made" (= 6). An instr. ag. is found 2, 7, 4 *sa* (= Indra, the subject of the preceding sentences) *tena bandhunā ... hūyate.* Cf. also 3, 1, 1 *saṃ-dhīyate prajayā* "he gets children"; 2. A part. pr. pass. occurs 3, 2, 3 (*saṃ-dhā-*); 2, 3, 5 *asyamānaḥ* and *vyajyamānā* + instr. instr. (appos.).

Other personal forms are rare: 2, 1, 4 *aśāri*; 5 *prātāyi* "he is stretched out"; 2, 2, *pādi* "he went". These aorists are intrans.; *pādi* appear in the narrative [56], where the style is vivid. Perfect: 2, 1, 3 *dadṛśe* ('agentless pass.') "he is seen"; 8.

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[54] See Keith, The Aitareya Ar., p. 176 n. 2.
[55] Keith, ibid., p. 189, n. 11.
[56] See Keith, p. 213, n. 9.

Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad.

It is not possible to understand the use of the passive verbal forms thoroughly without studying the active forms at the same time. It is not till one has acquired a sufficient insight into the use an author makes of the latter, that the peculiarities of the passive stand out. For this reason I studied all the verbal forms in a number of texts.

In the narrative parts of BĀrUp., 3d adhy., there are 93 forms of the perf. act. or med.: *uvāca* introducing an or. dir. occurs 58 ×, *papraccha* 9 ×, *upararāma* at the end of an episode 8 ×, *babhūva* (not preceded by a verb. adj.) 2 ×; moreover, there are 16 other forms. The perfect represents the narrative past: 3, 1, 2 *tān hovāca ... te ha brāhmaṇā na dadhṛṣuḥ ... tā hodācakāra. te ha brāhmaṇāś cukrudhuḥ* etc. The indic. pr. occurs only once. There are two 'passive' forms: 3, 1, 1 *tatra hi ... brāhmaṇā abhisametā babhūvuḥ* and ... *pādā ... ābaddhā babhūvuḥ,* semi-nominal sentences, expressing a condition in the past. In the dialogues (or. dir.), however, we find the following forms: indic. pr. act. or med.: 121, nom. sent. + *as-* (not preceded by a v. adj.): 4, imperf.: 25, imper.: 23, conj.: 1, opt.: 23, fut.: 10, aor.: 6, inj. aor. 3, ind. perf.: 53, opt. perf.: 8. But of the 25 forms of the imperf. 14 are found in 3, 3, 1 and 2 and 10 in 3, 7, 1; both times one of the seekers for wisdom who takes part in the discussion tells of an event which has happened formerly and which he has witnessed himself: *madreṣu carakāḥ paryavrajāma. te ... gṛhān aima* etc.; moreover, 3, 9, 9 *yad asminn idaṃ sarvam adhyārdhnot, tenādhyardha iti* (etymological explanation). The aorist expresses the actual past: 3, 7, 2 *puruṣaṃ pretam āhur vyasraṃsiṣatāsyāṅgānīti*; 8, 2 *tvā ... upodasthām* "je me dresse devant toi" (Senart); 5; 9, 18; 19; 26. Of the perfect forms 40 are *veda* and *vettha,* 11 *āha* and *āttha*; moreover, 3, 3, 2 *uvāca* introducing a quotation and ibid. *praśaśaṃsa.* There are 9 indic. pr. pass. and 1 optat., which, in general, are intrans.: 3, 1, 5 *kena ... atimucyate* "par quoi échappe-t-il"; 2, 11 *atraiva samavanīyante* "ils se rassemblent"; 13 *nidhīyate* "se dépose"; 8, 12 *mucyedhvam* "acquit yourselves"; 9, 1 *ucyante* "it says"; 26 *na hi gṛhyate* "for it is not to be laid hold of", in the same § *śīryate, sajyate,* and *vyathate, riṣyati,* which are not passives; besides, 8, 10 *tapas tapyate.* It must be noted that 8, 8 where a passive verb might have been used, the author prefers two active constructions, which form a parallelism: *na tad aśnāti kiṃ cana, na tad aśnāti kaś cana* "il ne mange ni ne se mange" (Senart). The v. adj. without *as-* or *bhū-* occurs 75 times, but the number of repetitions is extremely high: 3, 6, 1 the expression *ota- ca prota-*

ca is found 12 times, cf. 9, 26 etc.; this form being the predicate of a nominal sentence, expresses a condition, a quality etc.; 3, 9, 26 *kasmin nu prāṇaḥ pratiṣṭhitaḥ* may be translated by: "where is the location of the p.?"; 7, 23 *ato 'nyad ārtam* "whatever is different from it is suffering", here the v. adj. is almost an adject. The verbs *as-* or *bhū-* are added 9 times: 3, 7, 1 etc. *yasminn ayaṃ ca lokaḥ paraś ca lokaḥ ... saṃdṛbdhāni bhavanti*, semi-nominal sentence. 3, 9, 26 *pratiṣṭhitau sthaḥ* the verb *as-* is necessary to indicate the gramm. person; 20 only the last of a number of parallel answers has *bhavanti: kasmin nu rūpāṇi pratiṣṭhitānīti* :: *hṛdaye ... hṛdayena hi rūpāṇi jānāti, hṛdaye hy eva rūpāṇi pratiṣṭhitāni bhavanti*, which forms a rather ponderous concluding statement; cf. also 21; 22; 23. With *sthā-* (3 ×) a durative is formed: 8, 9 *sūryacandramasau vidhṛtau tiṣṭhataḥ* "ont leur existence propre" (Senart). 3, 1 *tasyāsīd duhitā gandharvagṛhītā, t. ... āsīt* means "he had" and *gandh.* is an apposition; cf. 2, 11. 2, 2 sqq. an instr. determines the v. adj. *sa gandhenātigraheṇa gṛhītaḥ*.

The gerundive preceded by *a-* occurs three times: 9, 26.

In the prose narrative of another section of the same Upaniṣad (5, 1, 1-6, 2, 15) there are 112 forms of the perf. act. or med. (35 *vac-*, 11 *ah-*, 35 *vid-*): narrative past, ± 75 of the indic. pr., 13 of the opt. pr., 2 conj., 5 semi-nom. sentences with *bhū-*, 1 × *bhū-* + part. fut., 1 imperf. (5, 5, 1 *asṛjanta*). The indic. pr. pass. which occurs 5 times, is an intransitivum: 5, 9, 1 (*annam*) *yad idaṃ adyate* "which serves as food, which is eaten"; 11, 1 *etad vai paramaṃ tapo yad vyāhitas tapyate* "the greatest pain surely is that, which one endures from disease"; 13, 2 *yujyante* (2 ×), cf. 3 where, in parallel sentences, *saṃyañci* "turned against each other" is used; 9, 1 an instr. ag. is added: *yenedaṃ annaṃ pacyate*. A perf. 'pass.' is met with 5, 14, 3 *darśataṃ padam iti, dadṛśa iva hy eṣaḥ* "... parce qu'on y voit ..." (Senart). The sentences wherein the v. adj. is predicate (8) denote a condition etc.: 5, 2, 2, (2 ×); 14, 4 (5 ×); 6, 1, 4; cf. 14. Gerundives: 5, 1, 1; 14, 6 (+ ag. instr.). — In the or. dir. there are 40 indic. pr., 1 conj. pr., 4 opt. pr., 13 imper., 2 semi-nom. sent.; 2 imperf. (hist. past; 5, 14, 8; 6, 2, 5), 26 aor. (act. past; 5, 12 *vyajñāsiṣṭa* "vous avez compris?"; 4 inj. aor.; 13 perf. (9 *veda, vettha*; 3 *āttha*); 3 fut. The ind. pr. pass., being an intransitivum, occurs: 6, 2, 2 *na saṃpūryate* "... ne se remplisse pas"; 7 *vijñāyate* "it is known"; aor. + *mā* 5, 14, 7. The v. adj. is predicate 5, 12, 1 (adj., in nom. sent.); 6, 2, 2 *api hi na ṛṣer vacaḥ śrutam: ...iti* "we have heard" (almost the act. past); 5 (*varaṃ ... dadmaḥ* ::) *sa hovāca: pratijñāto ma eṣa varaḥ*,

which in an emotional and vivid manner answers to our "I accept the boon which you have promised me" ('fait-accompli-Darstellung'); 6, 2, 1 and instr. ag. is added and the verb. adj. almost expresses the act. past: *anuśiṣṭo nv asi pitrā* "are you (an) instructed (one) by (the influence of) your father?". In the stanza 5, 1, 1 two intr. *-ya*-forms are found *udacyate* and *avaśiṣyate*.

In the other parts of this text the so-called passive forms have the same functions. They form some clearly defined categories. The *-yá*-forms are intrans.: 1, 2, 1 *samahanyata* "se solidifia"; 5 *adhriyata* "turned the mind to"; 3, 12 sqq. *atyamucyata*; 17 *annam adyate* "se mange" (cf. 5, 2), ibid. *anenaiva tad adyate* "c'est grâce à lui qu'elle se mange" (cf. § 18 *yad anenānnam atti*); 27 *gīyate*; 4, 7 *tan nāmarūpābhyām eva vyākriyate* "that determined itself by name-and-form" (instr. of means); 15 *kṣīyate* "s'épuise"; 5, 14 *ā ca pūryate, apa ca kṣīyate* "he becomes full and wanes"; 2, 1, 3; 1, 5, 15 *sarvajyāniṃ jīyate* "he suffers the loss of all"; 2, 1, 11 *nāsmād gaṇaś chidyate* "his followers never part from him"; 4, 1, 6 *manasā ... striyam abhihāryate* "by the mind one feels attracted towards a woman"; 3, 5 *svaḥ pāṇir na vinirjñāyate*; cf. 1, 2 *vācā ... bandhuḥ prajñāyate*; 3, 8 *pāpmabhiḥ saṃsṛjyate* "... se charge de maux" (Senart); 19 *saṃlayāyaiva dhriyate* "be determined to go to" or "se porte vers"; 23 etc. *vidyate*; 35 *pramucyate* + abl. "se détache de"; 4, 23 (stanza) *na lipyate karmaṇā* "he does not stain himself by ..." (cf. l. 2 *na karmaṇā vardhate* "he is not increased by ..."). As regards the v. adj. I wish to point out the following instances: 1, 2, 1 *mṛtyunaivedam āvṛtam āsīt,* here the patiens finds itself in the condition of being enveloped (like our *wrapped in darkness* etc.) (cf. 6, 3 *amṛtaṃ satyena channam*); 3, 23; 2, 4, 5; 7 *śabdo gṛhītaḥ* "on se saisit du son" (Senart); 4, 3, 33 *sa yo manuṣyāṇāṃ rāddhaḥ samṛddho bhavati* (semi-nom.); 1, 4, 7 *avyākṛtam āsīt*; 5, 17 *yat ... anūktam* "se récite"; 4, 2, 4 *abhayaṃ ... prāpto 'si* and 4, 23 *enaṃ prāpito 'si* express the actual past. Instances of the part. pr. pass. are 1, 4, 10 *ekasminn eva paśāv ādīyamāne* (the ag. remains in the background); 5, 1 (stanza) *adyamānāni*; 2, 4, 7 *dundubher hanyamānasya*; 4, 5, 8 (id.). Perf. (intr.) 1, 5, 22 *dadhre*; 3, 1, 2 *prastuṃ dadhre.*

I add some instances taken from the Chāndogya-Upaniṣad. Indic. pr. in *-ya-*: 1, 1, 6 *saṃsṛjyate*; 6, 6 etc. *dṛśyate*; 10, 2 *vidyante* "il y a"; 2, 10, 3 *akṣaram atiśiṣyate* "une syllabe en surnombre" (Senart); 4, 11, 2 *kṣīyante*; 16, 3 *hīyate* "perishes, is lost"; 5, 3, 3 *sampūryate*; 24, 3 *pāpmānaḥ dūyante* "the sins burn to ashes"; 6, 5, 1

tredhā vidhīyate "se répartit en trois"; 16, 1 *sa dahyate* "il se brûle"; 7, 10, 1 *vyādhīyante prāṇāḥ* "all animals would become wretched" ("tout ce qui vit s'inquiète" Senart); 8, 1, 4 *atiśiṣyate* "remains". An instr. ag. is added: 8, 1, 5 where a parallel sentence containing an intrans. verb precedes: *nāsya jarayaitaj jīryati, na vadhenāsya hanyate,* cf. 10, 1; 6, 16, 1; 10, 10 *pāpmanā lipyate.* 1, 6, 2 *sāma gīyate* means "the s. is sung", fr. "on chant le s.". As regards the v. adj. I note 1, 10, 3 *ucchiṣṭaṃ vai me pītaṃ syāt,* this sentence, forming part of a dialogue consisting of short sentences, is an ellipse: "(were I to take that) I would have drunk the remnant of another's drink": emotional fait-accompli-Darstellung; 6, 12, 1 *bhinddhi* :: *bhinnam* the fait acc. is a reality; 7, 1, 3 *śrutaṃ hy eva me* + abl. (actual past).

The story of Pauṣya (Mbh. 1, 3), the stanzas excepted [57].

I—The verbal adjectives are very numerous. The pure attributives are rather rare (9 instances, including some beginning with *a-*; 58, 18 *prabhūtataram*). The predicative use is very common. When the v. adj. is used as predicate in a nominal sentence, it is transitive 26 times and intransitive 14 times. Nearly always the verb forms part of a dialogue, the exceptions are 56, 14 *sa tayā kruddhayā tatroktaḥ* (in the alternative construction: 63, 26 *tam upadhyāyaḥ pratyuvāca,* which is very usual, the subject is always a subst. or a proper noun, and this is never attended by an apposition like *kruddha-*); 59, 29 *sa ... °strībhiḥ ... uktaḥ* (narrative past); 63, 14 *tābhir nāgaloka upadhūpitaḥ* (here other I. Eur. languages prefer the passive constr.: Dutch „daardoor werd de ... uitgerookt"); 62, 7 *tasya ... āsannaḥ* (dramatically, fait accompli). The v. adj. is in most cases very clearly expressive of actuality: 56, 15 ... *kimartham abhihataḥ*; see also 59, 4; 5; 60, 22; 64, 1, where an historical event serves as an argument to persuade a person: *āvābhyāṃ purastād ... apūpo dattaḥ* (viz. to your guru); *upayuktaḥ sa tena* ... (dramatically). Now and then, however, it expresses a state or a temporary quality: 58, 25 *sa niyataṃ kupitaḥ*; 60, 31 *na hi ... kṣatriyā saṃnihitā*; 60, 32 *niyataṃ bhavān ucchiṣṭaḥ*; an 'active construction' is not possible here. In most cases (5 : 1) the agens has been expressed, cp. e.g. 57, 24 *yasmāc ca tvayā madvacanam anuṣṭhitaṃ tasmād* (a wordy and dignified turn). Its usual place is either at the very beginning of the sentence: 57, 4 *mayāyaṃ vṛta upādhyāyaḥ*; 15; 63, 27; 32; 33 etc., or preceded only by an anaphorical word; 63, 28 *tatra ca mayā dṛṣṭe* ...; 30, cp. also 64, 1

[57] Quoted from Boehtlingk's Chrestomathie 3, p. 56 ff.

tatas tasya vacanān mayā ... upayuktam; at times another word is found at the beginning 63, 31 *puruṣaś cāpi mayā dṛṣṭaḥ* (*p.* is brought into prominence); the agens is put after the v. adj. 59, 2 (inversion); 5 *tvaṃ api tathaiva kuruṣva yathā kṛtam upādhyāyena* (*u.* has been emphasized). An instr. expressing the cause is met with 60, 2. There are 6 instances of a 1st pers. sg., 3 of 2d pers., ± 28 of a 3d pers. and some 'impersonal constructions' such as 60, 30 *na yuktam* + inf.; 61, 20; neutral constr. 61, 33 *prāk te 'bhihitam*; 63, 27; 59, 5. The personal *śaktas* + inf.: 61, 11; 27; 31. — There are 18 instances of a v. adj. being used with *as-* or *bhū-*, mostly transitives. They always form part of a dialogue and are either expressive of a state or quality: 58, 7 *lubdho 'si*; 59, 7 *prītau svaḥ*; 61, 11 *sunirvṛtā bhava*; 61, 13; 63, 11, or of actuality (11 ×). In 8 instances the agens has been expressed; it is placed at the beginning, 63, 25 *tvaṃ manāg asi mayā na śaptaḥ*, however, we find it elsewhere; an instr. expressing the cause is put at the beginning 64, 8, at the end 63, 11. There are 8 instances of a 1st pers. sg., 2 of a 1st pers. du., 7 of a 2d pers. sg., 1 of a 3d pers. sg. In most (10) cases the copula is placed immediately after the v. adj. 56, 11 ... *bhrātṛbhir abhihato 'smi*; cf. also 17 *saṃbhrānto viṣaṇṇaś cāsīt*; the exceptions are: 56, 9 *kenāsy abhihataḥ* (interrogation); 11 *yena a.a.* (relative phrase); 60, 13 *upādhyāyenāsmy anujñāto gṛhaṃ gantum* (v. adj. + inf. seem to form a group); 63, 33 *tenāsmi sopacāram uktaḥ* (adverb determines the v. adj.); 28 *tenāsmi nāgalokaṃ gataḥ* (accus. is dependent on the v. adj.; 61, 2 *asti* "there is", "il y a" is placed at the beginning (according to the rule); 63, 25 *tvaṃ manāg asi mayā na śaptaḥ*. Neutral constr. 61, 1; 3.

The formula *svāgataṃ te* occurs thrice.

The v. adj. which expresses attendant circumstances etc. of the main action is mostly transitive (± 3 : 1). In 15 cases (± 30 %) the agens has been added: 57, 2 *tenaivam ukto j-s taṃ pratyuvāca,* once (61, 8) an instr. of cause is subjoined. The v. adj. has to be connected with the subject of the active sentence of which it forms part (56, 8 *sa ... abhihato ...upāgacchat*), it precedes the verbal form which serves as the principal verb. The v. adj. is used as an apposition to the subject: 61, 26 *mamāpi tu śāpo na bhaved bhavatā dattaḥ*; to the object: 58, 12; 60, 16 ... *kuṇḍale bhikṣituṃ tasya kṣatriyayā pinaddhe*; 61, 7 (in these instances the v. adj. follows the verb); 61, 22 there is no verb; the v. adj. precedes the verb: 64, 3 (in all these instances the agens is expressed); to an instrumental of cause 58, 22; to an instr. expressing the subject of a passive sentence:

56, 14; 59, 4 (+ ag.); 61, 1 (always preceding the verb); lastly 60, 20 ... *apaśyad ṛṣabham* ... *tam adhirūḍhaṃ ca puruṣam*. 4 × the v. adj. forms the 2d part of a compound: 56, 26 (app. to subj., preceding the verb, 2 ×); 63, 15. Four times a loc. abs., preceding the verb, and having a 'thing' as subject, is met with: 56, 19; 58, 23; 61, 31; 62, 1. — V. adj. are rarely used as adverbs, I have found only *niyatam* (60, 32), *dṛḍham* (57, 31; 62, 7). — The v. adj. forms part of a compound in a restricted number of cases: first member of a bah.: 61, 4; 15; 22; 26, 5; 7 *gṛhītamātraḥ*; last member of a tatp.: 61, 16; 62, 14.

II—A gerundive (12 cases) acts as an attributive 63, 2 *puruṣaṃ cāpaśyad aśvaṃ ca darśanīyam* (emphasized), cp. 57, 20; as a predicate without a copula: 58, 26 (pers.); 61, 8 (p.); 57, 32 (thing); 59, 32 (2 × th.); id. with an instr. expressing the agens: 57, 5 (th.); constr. *śuśrūṣuṇā ca bhavitavyam* 59, 15; *na śakyā* + inf. 60, 33; as a subst.: 59, 32 (2 ×).

III—There are only 3 personal forms of the indic. pres. in *-ya-*: intrans. 59, 26 *parihīyate* (th.); without an agens 61, 14 *pātram āsādyate*; with an agens 61, 28 *kiṃ caitad bhavatā na jñāyate yathā* (± Dutch "is het u niet bekend?"). There are 9 (usually somewhat courteous) imperatives: *gamyatām* (3 ×), *uṣyatām, āsyatām, kriyatām* (n. 59, 30; th. 61, 15; fig. et. *karma k.* 59, 22), *yācyatām* (p. 60, 29). 9 forms of the part. in *-ya-* are found, 5 are used as attributives or 'appositions', attending on a 'person': (preceding the verb) 57, 11 *sa kliśyamāno 'paśyad upāyam*; 62, 10 *tam -am apaśyat* ...; (following the verb) 59, 17; 62, 3 (2 ×); id., attending on a 'thing' 63, 1 + ag., an animal, 63, 14. The acc. + part. constr. occurs twice: 59, 26 (th. + ag.); 61, 16 (th. + ag.).

As regards the frequence of the active and middle verbal forms: in the narrative parts of this text there are 6 indic. pr., which are durative and 'historical', besides, 2 indic. pr. + *sma* (dur. past); the imperf. (ppp. + imperf. excepted) occurs 46 times (41 act., 5 med.), the perfect 115 times (101 act., 14 med.) [58]), it is often found at

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[58] The imperfects are: *gam-* (6 ×), *icch-, kṛ-, vas-, prati-pad-, paś-* (13 ×), *yam-* (2 ×), *gṛh-, pra-dru-, pṛcch-* (2 ×), *rakṣ-* (5 ×), *dham-, cint-* X, *bhakṣ-* X, *vad-* X (3 ×), *dṛ-* X, *ni-vid-* X, *labh-* (med.), *sthā-, pra-sthā-* (med., 2 ×), *bhāṣ-*. The perfects are: *vac-* (24 ×), *prati-vac-* (41 ×); *pra-vac-*; *bhū-* (3 ×), *kṛ-* (5 ×), *khan-, gam-* (7 ×), *stu-, grah-* (2 ×), *viś-* (4 ×), *diś-, pat-* (2 ×), *ah-* (8 ×), *ā-cakṣ-, upa-sthā-, dhā-, upa-kram-* (2 ×), *vṛ-* ("choose"), perf. periphr. 9.

the end of a pericope, but also in other places. There are only 5 instances of an aor. (*na*) *aśakat* (2 ×), *avocat, anvagāt, abhūt*; one *-tavant-* form.

In the oratio recta there are 68 cases of an indic. pr., of which ± 25 are durat.; the other cases indicative of the present time or timeless; besides, 7 indic. are modal; the fut. occurs 18 ×, the optat. 9 ×, the imper. 42 ×; the perf. 2 × (historical) + 1 × *āhuḥ* (introd.).

Śakuntalā by Kālidāsa, acts I and VI, prose.

I—The verbal adjectives are very numerous. The attributive use is extremely rare: two forms ifc. Predicative use: trans. 93; intrans. 34. Generally, the v. adj. expresses actuality; there are, however, exceptions and special cases: 6, 11 +; 12 + *paścād imāṃ mudrāṃ tadaṅgulau niveśayatā mayā pratyabhihitā*; ...; *tac ca ... mayā mohān nānuṣṭhitam,* a historical event is actualized; ibid. ... *paribhraṣṭam*; the v. adj. expresses a state and an actuality at the same time: 6, 11 + *mamāpi kautūhalenākārita eṣaḥ* "he has been inspired with the same curiosity as mine"; 14 +; 1, 13 + *api saṃnihito 'tra kulapatiḥ,* + instr. of cause 6, 30 +; 6, 23 + *pratihatam amaṅgalam* "may evil be averted", periphr. 1, 21 +; 22 +; 28 +; (state or quality) 1, 14 +; 6, 15 +; 6, 18 + *cakitacakiteva sthitā*; 1, 22 + neutral *ucitam,* etc.; the pp. attended by *pūrvam* or *purā* is expressive of the narrative preterit: 1, 22 + ... *purā kila ... devair menakā ... preṣitā*; 6, 8 +. 10 trans. and 5 intrans. v. adj. are attended by the copula (12 × pers. subj.): indic. 6, 1 + *anugṛhīto 'smi*; 29 +; id. *yadartham asmi hariṇā bhavatsakāśam preṣitaḥ*; 1, 17 +; 27 +; + instr. causae 1, 30 +; 6, 27 + simile *nirāśo 'smi jīvite saṃvṛttaḥ*; 1, 22 + *kiṃ nu khalu ... asmi saṃvṛttā* (emotional deliberation), etc.: indic. 9, opt. 3, impf. 1, imp. 1, fut. 1; 1st p. sg. 8, 2d p. sg. 1, 3d p. sg. 5, 2d p. pl. 1; 9 × the copula follows immediately; 3 × the ag. is expressed; besides, 1, 19 + *enāṃ vismṛtāsi* (object). When there is no copula, the agens has been expressed ± 50 × (all trans.); ± 10 × an instr. rei (causae etc.) has been added; usually the ag. precedes the v. adj. (13 exceptions: 6, 22 + *sarvathā pramārjitaṃ tvayā pratyādeśaduḥkhaṃ śakuntalāyāḥ,* exclamation; cp. 6, 1 + *nirvartitaṃ mayā*; 7 + *kṛtaṃ bhavatā nirmakṣikam*; 12 + etc.). Trans.: 42 × pers. subj., 37 th., 14 neutral; intr. 23 p., 10 th., 1 n.

The v. adj. is rather rarely used to express att. circ. etc.: 6, 8 +;

19 +; ifc. 6, 6 +, 8 +, usually preceding the verb.; appos. to the subj. + *iva*: 6, 14 +; the same but the v. adj. is put twice: 6, 18 +; to obj.: 1, 16 +, 6, 11 +; ifc. 8 + (2 ×); to a gen.: 6, 4 +.

A loc. abs. occurs 6, 2 + (impers., preceding the verb.); 3 + *devena pratisiddhe °utsave ... kim ārabhase.*

A v. adj. acts as an adverb: 1, 17 + *viśrabdham.*

A v. adj. forms the first member of a compound in a rather high number (± 10) of cases, ± 14 × it serves as second member (appos., attr., praed., subst.).

II—The gerundive is used in various ways: as an attr.: 2 × e.g. 1, 19 + (th.); attr. ifc. 6, 1 +; constr. *kā tvaṃ visraṣṭavyasya roddhavyasya vā* (1, 27 +) = *visarjanasya rodhanasya ca (-tavya- bhāve)*; as a pred., without cop. and ag.: thing 5 ×: 6, 1 +; 4 +; 9 +; 10 +; 16 +; the same, *i.f.c.* 4 ×: *anatikramaṇīyā* 6, 31 +; 1, 21 + *rājarakṣitavyāni*; 22 + *samavayorūparamaṇīyam*; 6, 13 +; pers. ifc. 6, 1 +; animal 1, 9 + *na hantavyaḥ*; neutral: 4 ×: 1, 21 + *na bhetavyam*; 6, 23 +; 26 +; the same, with ag.: th. 1, 14 + *vinītaveṣeṇa praveṣṭavyāni tapovanāni*; neutr. 6, 4 +; *bhavitavyam* + instr. 4 +: + double instr. 1 +; 22 +; with a copula without an ag.: fut. pers. 6, 7 + *cikitsitavyo bhaviṣyati*; opt. neutr. 11 +; with *asti* "il y a" 1, 23 + *asti naḥ ... prastavyam*; pred. ifc. 1, 7 +.

III—There are 35 pers. forms in *-ya-*: 22 indic. pr., 1 fut., 12 imper. Indic.: the ag. is added 4 ×; 5 × the subject is a person, 10 × a thing, 7 neutr. The form expresses an intrans. (5 ×) e.g. 1, 22 + ... *prabhāvavān iva lakṣyate;* is intrans. without a subj. (7 ×) e.g. 6, 1 + *yujyate;* agentless pass. or fr. "on": 6, 7 + *ucyate* "they say"; 22 + *śrūyate*; = we: 1, 12 + *dṛśyate* "we see" or "you see"; 13 + *akathito 'pi jñāyate*; modesty: *tad api kathyate* "we will explain that too"; courteousness: 1, 22 + *katama āryeṇa rājarṣivaṃśo 'laṃkriyate*; emotion, the patiens is emphasized: 6, 25 + *mamāpi sattvair abhibhūyante gṛhāḥ*; the pat. is thema 6, 29 + *yena ... so 'nena ... abhinandyate.* Fut.: 6, 22 + intr. Imper. (2 × p., 7 × th., 3 × n., 1 × animal) the ag. is expressed once: 6, 7 + *āryeṇa dīyatām*; rather frequently neutr. *śrūyatām* etc.; this imper. is more or less courteous, but not infrequently a lower on the social ladder is addressed with it, e.g. 1, 7 + (king to charioteer) *mucyantām...* The part. praes. in *-ya-* occurs only: expressing att. circ. + instr. ag. 1, 22 +; as app. to the obj. + ag. 1, 21 +; id. without ag. 9+ *paśyainaṃ vyāpādyamānam.*

Daśakumāracarita by Daṇḍin, ch. 8 [59].

I—The verbal adjectives are numerous. Their use as attributives is, comparatively speaking, rather rare: 11 instances (259, 17 with agens), moreover 14 instances of a v. adj. acting as the 2d member of a comp. (ifc.) (259, 14 *yuṣmattaś cauryārjitaṃ dhanam*; 277, 3 *tvadupadiṣṭena nayena* etc.). Used as pred. in a nom. sent.: ± 25 × trans., besides, 2 × ifc.: 270, 11 *kumāraḥ śārdūlabhakṣitaḥ* (exclamation); 272, 3; 13 × intrans. In ± 24 cases the v. adj. expresses actuality, 8 × a state or condition (260, 6 *pūrṇāni* + instr.; 8 *kim idam aparyāptam...*; 261, 6 *spaṣṭam*; 271, 15 *sa ... dārakatvenaiva kalpitā*, etc.); ± 9 times the v. adj. expresses an historical event, a narrative preterit: 250, 3 *mayā ... paribhramatā ... ko 'pi kumāraḥ ... dṛṣṭaḥ*; 269, 4 *idaṃ tu jñātvā devyāham ājñaptaḥ ...*; at times the v. adj., when employed in this manner, seems to express a sudden or unexpected event: 269, 20 *...ity acintayam. tāvad āpatitau ca... dvau mṛgau ... avadhiṣam ... apatat*; 250, 3; elsewhere a tendency towards variation seems to be the only motive [60]: 272, 9 *abravīt ... mayoktam ... abrūta*; 269; 265, 13; in a sentence beginning with *prāg eva* "(already) before now" *mayā kṛtam* means "I had made": 274, 9, here the v. adj. signifies the remote past [61]. Sixteen times (± 40 %) the agens has been expressed; it may be found anywhere: seldom at the beginning of the sentence (or phrase) 259, 16; 269, 16 *vṛddhenoktam*; often in the second place, sometimes near the end, e.g. 269, 11; at the end: 265, 13 (variation); 275, 13; the v. adj. is put at the end in most cases, 259, 17 at the beginning of the 2d member of a disjunctive interrogation; 265, 13 (variation). There are 3 instances of a 1st pers., 1 of a 2d pers.; the v. adj. is neutral (*uktam*) in 3 cases; a thing is "subj. of the pass. sent." in 21, a person in 16 cases, an animal once. *na śaktaḥ* + inf. is found once. — There are only 4 instances of a v. adj. + *as-* etc. (trans.) 252, 8 the v. adj. expresses the historical past *sa ... nātyādṛto 'bhūt* (state of being, condition); the periph. form is a narrative preterit: 269, 1; 271, 17 *arthaś ca ... anuṣṭhito 'bhūt*; the v. adj. is attended by an imper.: 271, 16 *atirahasyaṃ yuṣmāsv eva guptaṃ tiṣṭhatu*. 2 × a pers., 2 × th. subject; agens 269, 1 *mitraiḥ ... bhrātre ... devī darśitābhūt*.

The v. adj. expressing attendant circumstances etc. of the main

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[59] Ed. Godbole-Paṇṣīkar 10, p. 250-278.

[60] See A. Beth, Variatieverschijnselen in het Oud-Indisch, Diss. Utrecht 1943, p. 94 f.

[61] Compare Speyer, Sanskrit Syntax, § 339.

action (24 instances; 5 trans., 6 intrans., 13 ifc.; 19 × a person subj., 3 × a thing, 2 × an animal) always precedes the princ. verb, 269, 6 (after an initial imper.) excepted. Only once an instr. ag. has been added 269, 2 *nirbhartsitaś ca tayā,* twice an other instr. (252, 8; 254, 7 *tena hīnaḥ*). The v. adj. acts as an apposition: to the subj. 258, 15 (+ instr. ag.), 253, 1 (+ gen. ag.); to the obj. 276, 1, *matprahitāni* 261, 15, + instr. soc.; 255, 3 (+ instr. ag.); to an instr. ag. 268, 11; 256, 18 to a gen. 257, 8; 269, 10 (comp.) (7 × a person, 3 × a thing). Acc. + part. construction: 272, 6; pred. app. 274, 14. Locat. abs.: 10 instances (4 p., 3 th., 3 neutral, of which 2 + instr. ag., 3 intr., 1 × 2nd m. of comp.), always preceding the verb. — V. adj. are rather rarely employed as adverbs (a.o. 6 × ifc.). — They form part of a compound in a very high number of cases.

II—A gerundive (25 cases) does not serve as an attributive (the *Roma capta* constr.: 255, 11 excepted); it is used 22 × without a copula, 2 × with a copula: 259, 6 *durārakṣyaṃ bhavet*; 277, 1 *asmi bodhyaḥ* (apodosis); 16 × without an expressed agens, 6 × with an agens, once without a subject (neutral); 271, 6 *saṃdeśyam*; twice it forms the 2nd member of a compound; *na śakyam* + inf. occurs once. p. 256 ff. it serves as a means to vary the style; it is often used in or. dir.

III—There are 20 pers. forms in *-ya-*, of which 8 are indic. pr., 5 imperf., 2 opt. The agens is added twice; 7 × the subject is a person, 6 × a thing; 2 × the form is neutral. The 'passive form' expresses an intrans. notion: 253, 3 *lakṣyate*; 4 *prativiśiṣyate*; 274, 3 *dṛśyate*; 265, 5 *vyaśīryanta*; 266, 2 *adahyanta* (*vimānitāḥ ... mānenād.*); 275, 15 *apriyanta*; 'agentless passive' 252, 6 *agaṇyatāmareṣu*; the form is neutral: 255, 2 *tathā kriyate* "let it be done..."; the agens is known: ? 256, 6 *ācaryate* (viz. *tena, ācaratīty arthaḥ* Comm.); 276, 13 *kim udgīryeta grasyeta vā* (patiens is the thema of the sentence); fr. "on": 260, 8; this constr. is probably chosen in order to keep the subject 254, 1; there seems to be no reason why the passive is used: 259, 15 *tair ... dhanam ... bhujyate;* 265, 13. There are 5 imper. in *-ya-*: 250, 4 *kriyatām*; 11 *śrūyatām*; 258, 13 *kriyantām*; 259, 10 *anubhūyantām*; 272, 8 *anugṛhyatām*; 3 are courteous forms, 2 express fr. "on", once a person is subj., 3 × a thing, 1 form has no subj. I have found 11 forms of the part. in *-ya-*: 4 express attendant circumstances 254, 1 pers. subj. without ag.; 261, 3 id. + ag.; 272, 17 id., following the verb, expressing the notion of fr. "on" in a nominal sentence: 256, 11 (thing subj.) (in these instances the passive form is due to the

construction of the sentence in general, which is determined by the context, the thema etc.); the part. acts as an app. to the obj. 258, 11 (thing): 261, 14 (th., + ag.); it is predicative: 259, 18 (th. + ag., the patiens is thema); acc. + part. constr. instr. ag. 253, 7 (pers.); 261, 12 (th.); twice it forms the 1st member of a compound: 257, 5; 262, 2.

Pañcatantra, Hitopadeśa, prose Vetāla-tales, etc.

To get an insight into the use of the passive forms in contradistinction to the active forms in the rather easy and artless prose of later times, I studied a number of tales, fables etc. appertaining to the cycles of the Pañcatantra, the Hitopadeśa, the prose Vetāla-tales etc. With regard to the fourth part (tantra) of the Pañcatantra [62] I found the following facts. In the dialogue the functions of the indic. pr. act. (or med.) and the verb. adj., which are equally frequent, are clearly distinct. The indic. is either a durativum: 2, 4 *sa ... phalāni prayacchati nityam* a form expressing facts present or represented as such: 4, 3 *mamāsti ... nāma vānaraḥ,* or a modal tense: 4, 20 *tasmāt kathayāmi nijābhiprāyaṃ* (volunt.); 3, 13 *kiṃ karomi* (dubit.) 8, 4 (possibility) etc., which may also denote a near future: 6, 1 ... *tad bhūyo 'pi viśvāsayāmi.* In subordinate sentences the ind. pr. act. (or med.) is often consecutive or final: 4, 13 *tām ... ānaya yena tasyāḥ praṇamyāśirvādaṃ gṛhṇāmi.* We find it in exclamatory sentences beginning with *katham*: 9, 6 *katham ahaṃ tatra gacchāmi.* The verb adj., on the other hand, expresses the actual past: 4, 2 *tad ahaṃ tayaivaṃ proktas tava sakāśam āgataḥ.* Occasionally such a verb. adj. is also met with in a sentence beginning with *yathā* and paraphrasing the object of the verb "to say" etc. 18, 5 ... *ūcatur yathā gajaṃ dṛṣṭvā dūrato 'pi naṣṭaḥ.* Moreover, it is used in 'fait accompli'-expressions: 4, 16 ... *kiṃ vilambyate. tvaryatām ahaṃ tava pṛṣṭham ārūḍhaḥ* "I am already sitting on your back". In a story or tale related by one of the persons of the fable the use of the v. adj. may bring about a dramatic effect; 16, 12 where the person speaking relates a fact that had happened to himself: *atha kadācit ... nirgataḥ pradhāvan karparopari patitaḥ* etc. (the after-effect of the stumbling has not yet lost its actuality). When a v. adj. is the predicate of several sentences in succession that part of the text is 'dramatic': 14, 5-8. Now and then it is a pure adjective and expresses a quality or a condition: 12, 23 *madbhujaparirakṣitaḥ sa deśaḥ*; 22, 19 *bhaktāsi me tvam*; more than

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[62] Pañcatantra, p. III of Bühler's edition, p. 1-44 (Bombay 1868).

once it expresses an actuality and a condition etc. (resulting from a preceding action) at the same time: 10, 12. In the narrative parts, on the other hand, the ind. act. or med. is either a praesens historicum: 1, 18 *evaṃ uktvā tasya °phalāni prayacchati,* or a durativum: 10, 2 *nityaṃ ekaikaṃ ādiśati*; cf. especially such groups as 1, 21 *nayantau... tiṣṭhataḥ,* which are also found in oratio directa (e.g. 11, 6). This form is often historical and durative at the same time: 12, 7. More than once such words as *nityaṃ* "continually" precede the verb. On the other hand we often see that sentences in which the following words occur, *kadācit* "once", *atha kadācit, anyadā* "at another time", *athānyatame divase* "some day or other", *anyedyuḥ, anyadine* "one day", *atrāntare* "meantime" and sentences beginning with *atha,* which serves to introduce some new person, thing or fact, *tataḥ,* which commonly subjoins an event which is subsequent in time, that "therefore, now" contain a v. adj.: 1, 9; 33, 9; 2, 1 *athānyatame divase tayā sa pṛṣṭaḥ*; 10, 6; 26, 4 *atrāntare ... bhūmau patitā*; 6, 15 *atha tena cintitam;* 12, 13 *tataś ca ... tenābhihitaḥ*; 37, 11 etc. The same may be said of sentences beginning with the loc. abs. *tathānuṣṭhite* "having done in this way": 13, 12 *t. sṛgālena saha siṃhāntikāgataḥ*; 38, 7 etc., after the absolutive constructions *evaṃ uktvā*: 28, 15; *ity abhidhāya*: 37, 16; *tac chrutvā*: 29, 13, cf. 42, 5, after other absolutives: 29, 18; 33, 19 etc. After the expressions *kadācit* etc. (*atha* not included) another verbal form is only rarely found: 30, 9 *atha sa duḥkhābhibhūtā tam ... vīkṣituṃ na śaknoti*; 33, 20 *atha ... cintayāmāsa*; 37, 8 *atha ... apaśyat*; 34, 10 *atrāntare ... khaṃ utpapāta.* After an absolutive, however, an imperfect is not rare: 6, 19 *taṃ dṛṣṭvā bhūyo 'py acintayat*; 8, 11; 9, 9; 22, 7; 36, 1; 17, 17 *ity uktvā tam api svastanakṣīreṇa puṣṭim anayat*; 21, 20 ... *annam ... akarot*; 22, 1 ... *kathaṃcit taṃ divasam atyavāhayat*; 33, 18 *upādravat*; in these cases the verbs express ideas the realization of which extends over a certain space of time; cf. also 35, 6 *iti vicintya ... apṛcchat*; but 24, 12 is an exception: ... *pāṣāṇakhaṇḍaṃ prākṣipat.* Elsewhere the abs. is followed by a perfect: 32, 1 *tad ākarṇya vānaraḥ prahasya provāca,* by a form in *-tavat-*; 37, 15 *abhihitavān,* by an aor. 1, 19 *agāt*; 5, 8; 13, 5 *avocat.* It would appear to me that one verb has a predilection for the imperf. (or perf. etc.), another (*gam, pat-* X, *dṛś-* X, *pradā-, prasthā-*) for the v. adj. The same difference between the personal active verb and the v. adj. can be studied when both forms occur in the same syntactical unit. A frequent construction is *yāvat ... tāvat...* "during which time ... in

the meanwhile". Speyer has already remarked [63] that *yāvat* in these sentences is construed with the present, even when it denotes past facts. But he failed to notice that in the apodosis the v. adj. is very common. This form expresses a new fact and, as a rule, the action is either brought about in a moment or ingressive: 30, 31 "when she was finding herself ..., a thief entered (*praviṣṭaḥ*) the house"; 13, 13 ...*palāyitum ārabdhaḥ*; 14, 2 *dṛṣṭaḥ*; 40, 19 *gatāḥ*; 21 *sthitaḥ*; 23 *māritaḥ*; 17, 19 ... *tāvat tena śṛgālasutenābhihitam*. Now, in the *tāvat*-apodosis an aorist is also possible: 34, 7 *sāpi* ... *nadītīre yāvad upaviṣṭā tiṣṭhati tāvat tatrāntare* ... *tatrāgamat*. Elsewhere we find an imperf.: 37, 10 *yāvad udakaṃ nitvāgacchati tāvat tāṃ mṛtām apaśyat*, an indic. pr. 10 *śṛṇoti*, a perf. 38, 12 *dadarśa*. The v. adj., however, is more frequently used. Next, a v. adj. is found in sentences continuing sentences introduced by *atha* etc. or a loc. abs., followed by a v. adj.: 38, 7 sqq. *tathānuṣṭhite* ... *brāhmaṇaḥ tayā* ... *kūpāntaḥ pātitaḥ. sāpi* ... *nagare praviṣṭā. tatra ca* ... *rājño 'gre nītā*; 18 sqq.; 8, 22 sqq.; perhaps it may be said that these parts of the text are 'dramatized'.

As regards the perfect, *babhūva* in semi-nominal sentences is found 16, 2; 22, 13; also 26, 6 *tūṣṇīṃ b.*; as an introductory verb before an or. dir it is frequent: *āha* 3, 16; 4, 15; *uvāca* 10, 22; 27, 13 etc.; *cintayāmāsa* 4, 19; 33, 20; *papraccha* 27, 2; sometimes, however, the author uses the aorist: *avocat* 12, 8; 21, 17; *avādīt* 31, 6; to introduce stanzas the perfect is not often used (*āha* 11, 8). This long and often pompous or cumbrous form serves also to conclude a pericope, to mark ideas which stand out a little above other verbal notions in the same context: 10, 8 ... *kathaṃcit na virarāma*; 10, 13 *evam uktvā sa tāṃ visarjayāmāsa*; 23, 15 *babhrāma*; 24, 13 *nipapāta*; 26, 5 *papāta*; 34, 2 *evam uktvā tasmā aśeṣaṃ vittam arpayāmāsa*; 36, 9 *babhañja*; 39, 19 it expresses a result and a condition(?): *sā garbhaṃ dadhāra. atha prasavasamaye prasūtā*. In or. dir. the only instance is the introductory *ūcuḥ* 13, 2. Aorists are (in narrative parts): 3, 14 *iti vicintayan* ... *agamat*; 16, 22 *ajījanat*; 27, 12 *ayāt*.

So there is not much room for the supposition that the use of the verbal form which at first sight seems to be capricious and disorderly, is highly a matter of arbitrariness. But we must not preclude the possibility that the tendency to vary the style (as well as the rhythmical and euphonical motives) had influence too. Perhaps the use of the

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[63] Speyer, Sanskrit Syntax, § 475 I.

-tavant- forms which do not occur in the or. dir. is to a certain degree due to these influences: as a voluminous form it may easily serve to conclude a pericope etc.: 44, 20 before the concluding stanza of a fable ... *svāśrayaṃ sukhenādhiṣṭhitavān*; 12, 12 ...*grāmam āsāditavān* (this form also 5, 9); 15, 8 *bhakṣitavān*; 23, 14 *samāropitavān* (with an 'aoristic' sense?); 17, 4 *samarpitavān*; 30, 22 *āliṅgitavatī* ('aor.' sense?); when introducing an or. dir. it may have been chosen for the sake of variation: 5, 22; 7, 4; 22, 2; 37, 15.

As regards the indic. pr. pass., in dialogues it is either intr. (or neutr.) 2, 9 *na śakyate*; 4, 11; 21, 2 etc. *na ... yujyate*; 28, 20 *na jñāyate*; 29, 4 *dhriyāmahe*; or a form expressing fr. on 36, 17 ...*na mitrabāndhavādayo ... samudre prakṣipyante*; 44, 10 *yatra ... sthīyate*; 29, 10; sometimes this form is less to the point than an act. verb: 27, 17 *tat kasmai ... pradīyate* ("we"); 4, 15 *bhadraṃ yady evaṃ tat kiṃ vilambyate*; 29, 8 *tat kiṃ kathyate*. In the narrative parts there is no difference: intr. 1, 1 *athedam ārabhyate* ...; 5 *tad yathānuśrūyate*; (intr. or Fr. *on*:) 19, 16 *nīyate* ("may be" or "we") 40, 3; 44, 15; 44, 10 *vidāryate* "when he was about to be rent in pieces...". As introductory formula we find *ucyate* (Fr. *on*) by side of *uktaṃ ca*.

From the first tantra of the same text[64] we may gather similar information: the v. adj. expresses (among the notions mentioned above) the 'remote actual past': 12, 7 *ākarṇitaṃ mayā nītisāraṃ pituḥ pūrvam utsaṅgaṃ hi niveṣatā*; it actualizes: 29, 1 (cf. 28, 12); it relates a fact in a 'dramatic' (vivid) style of writing: 30, 15 (in the same way the *-tavant-*form: 33, 18); durative: 27, 12 *dūrībhūtas tiṣṭhati*; the ind. pr. p. is intr.: 18, 3 *yujyate*; 21, 8 *dṛśyate*; 30, 2 *praśasyate*; an intr. aor. 18, 12 *samajani* (narr. past); Fr. *on*: 26, 17 *saṃbhāvyate*; 37, 19 *vadhyate*; modal and emotional in or. dir. 28, 13 *kiṃ kriyate*; 20, 2 *kim ... vijñāpyate*.

In the Hitopadeśa[65] the ind. pr. act. (med.) is either a durative form: 172, 23 *pratyahaṃ khādati*, a narrative historical present: 168, 22 *mṛgakākau nivasataḥ*, a timeless present: 171, 6 *asti... °vṛkṣaḥ*, or expressive of a present fact: 171, 14 *ārye tvām abhivande*; 184, 22 (formulas), modal etc.: 169, 33 *katham etān dantaiḥ spṛśāmi*; 168, 24; 178, 1 (often in a subordinate sentence: 170, 27; 186, 6; 187, 29; de conatu: 176, 15). That there can exist a striking difference between this indic. and the v. adj. becomes especially clear from texts like 188,

[64] Edited by Parab and Panśīkar[6] (Bombay 1925).
[65] Book I and the fables from the other books in Boehtlingk's Chrestomathie[2], to which the pages and lines refer.

15-17: ... *vadhūḥ* ... *sarvadā ramate. athaikadā* ... *samudradattenālokitā.* The v. adj. is often preceded by an adv. indicating a fixed moment: 169, 18 *prātaḥ*; 170, 25 *prabhāte*; 171, 10 *kadācit*; 173, 2 *ekadā.* It may also be expressive of an action happening in the space of time, denoted by a preceding part. pr.: 168, 22 *svecchayā bhrāmyan* ... *kenacit* ... *avalokitaḥ,* etc. In dialogues the v. adj. chiefly denotes the act. past: 168, 27 *idānīm* ... *praviṣṭo 'smi*; 170, 8 *uktam eva mayā pūrvam*; 171, 12 *hā hato 'smi*; a more or less remote past in subord. sent.: 182, 10 *yad ete śaśakāḥ* ... *tvayā niḥsāritāḥ*...; without an instr. ag. the v. adj. is actual-resultative: 172, 23 *yeṣām apatyāni khāditāni* .... The v. adj. + *asti* or *tiṣṭhati* (durat.) is very rarely met with: cf. 169, 32 *dṛḍhabandhanabaddho 'sti tāvad ayaṃ mṛgaḥ*; the absol. + *sthitaḥ* is dur.-narr. 170, 2; 163, 10; *sa ca pracchanno bhūtvā sthitaḥ*; 183, 11. Imperfects express the dur. and narr. past: 159, 20 *āsīt*; 163, 3 etc. *apaśyat*; 173, 15 *akarot*; 163, 3 etc. *acintayat*; 185, 26 we find *rājñā cintitam,* a short introductory formula, *acintayat,* however, forms part of more extensive sentences: 168, 23 *taṃ dṛṣṭvā sṛgālo 'cintayat,* so instr. + *cintitam* (cf. e.g. *tadā tenoktam* etc.) are indicative of a brief and vivid style. The perf. is used in the same way as in the Pañc.: 173, 5 ...*kṛtvā sa vyādhaḥ... hataś chinnadruma iva papāta* (but 175, 23 *patito 'ham*), after this *papāta* the author pauses a moment and adds a stanza; cf. also 174, 30 *suṣvāpa* ("he slept"), but the ingressive *prasvap-* (176, 12) appears as *prasuptaḥ* (after *ekadā*), *suptaḥ* 182, 22; 186, 32 is ingressive too. 174, 19 *vaṇikputraṃ sa* ... *sevakaṃ cakāra,* but in the next sentence *tato 'sau tena* ... *niyojitaḥ,* more dramatic; 190, 15 the first communication has to impress the hearer, the second is said 'en passant', cf. 168, 18; 185, 29 marks the end of a pericope in a sentence which adds no new information to that given above, but 30 new events are expressed by *dṛṣṭā pṛṣṭā ca*; 187, 7; before a stanza 159, 21 *ekadā* ... *ślokadvayaṃ śuśrāva*; 27 *cintayāmāsa;* 186, 19, etc. The perf. *babhūva* is often found in semi-nominal sentences (as the verbal member of the predicate): 170, 30 *sayatno babhūva*; at the end of a fable or of a pericope: 177, 17; 178, 3 *phalāsaktā babhūvuḥ*; 165, 26; the forms are durative. The perf. periphr. is met with at the end of a fable: 177, 2.

As regards the indic. pr. pass., it is intrans.: 183, 18 *vidāryate*; 184, 28 *paricīyate*; 187, 2 *vidyate*; 168, 4 *yujyate*; 162, 27 *prastūyate*; 177, 24 *śrūyate* "one could hear"; it is courteous, at times it is a way of avoiding addressing somebody right out: 27 *deva yadi kiyaddhanopakṣayaḥ kriyate tadā*...; 179, 14; 186, 28; 189, 26; 160, 31 *ucyate* "it

says" and 177, 8 *evaṃ śrūyate* introduce stanzas; cf. 183, 27; with an instr. ag. 162, 7 *tan mayā nītiṃ grāhayituṃ śakyante*; 188, 8 in an emotional exclamation, when the patiens is the thema of the sentence: *aho mahad āścaryam. pakṣibhyāṃ kūrmaḥ samuhyate*; *atha ... dadhi vāraṃ vāraṃ tena kākena khādyate* (here this form seems to bring out the condition of the sour milk).

The pass. imper. is often courteous: 171, 16 etc.; it may include the person speaking: "we": 180, 7; it is more 'general': 187, 29; it occurs in formulas: 181, 2 *śrūyatām*; one may use it when speaking to an inferior: 185, 25: an imp. act. is, on the contrary, addressed to a king: 175, 5 (*dṛṣṭiprasādaṃ kuru*, stereotype formula); 24. With an instr. ag. the imper. pass. seems to sound dignified or official: 175, 20; st. 191 +. A mere tendency to vary the style without any other motive for using this form and not another, is rarely to be found. It would appear to me that the use of the gerundive, e.g., is sometimes rather due to emotional motives than to the above tendency: 180, 9 *kim ahaṃ nirbalaḥ, mama gṛhāvasthitāny aṇḍāni samudreṇāpahartavyāni*; 188, 6 *kim aham ajñaḥ, na kim api mayā vaktavyam*. It is only in the introductory formulas that the author has freely chosen various verbal forms on a large scale: *brūte, uktam* + ag., *avadat, āha, abravīt* etc.

Vetālapañcaviṃśatikā by Śivadāsa.

The prose recension of the Vetālapañcaviṃśatikā by Śivadāsa [66] is, from the point of view of the verbal forms, an interesting text. The author of it has a decided predilection for the verbal adjective. In the introduction and the first story (p. 5, 1-12, 12, the stanzas left out of account) the v. adj. is used 128 × in the narrative (55 × without an instr. ag. and without *as-*, 1 × with *as-*, 25 × with an instr. ag., moreover, 8 × neutral; *uktaṃ ca* etc., 39 × neutral + instr. ag.: *rājñoktam* etc.) and 45 × in the dialogues (or. dir.: 19 × without an instr. ag.; 16 × with an instr. ag., 1 × with *as-*, 1 × neutr. with *as-*, 3 × neutr. without *as-* or instr. ag., 5 × neutr. with instr. ag.). In the narrative there are no other passive forms, in the dialogues we find: indic. pr. 6; imper. 2, gerund. 11 (3 without ag., 6 + instr. ag., 1 + gen. ag., 1 + *vartate*) = 19. In the narrative parts there are 15 active forms: indic. pr. 7, perf. 4, *-tavant-* 3, aor. 1; in the dialogues 53: indic. pr. 24, imper. 14, fut. 15. In the or. dir. the v. adj. is as good as always expressive of the actual past; *śāstre kathitam asti* 5,

[66] Vetālap. ed. H. Uhle, Abh. K. Morgenl. 8, 1. (1881).

34 however means "in the ś. it says"; 8, 18 *mūrchito 'si* is a semi-nom. sentence; 9, 28; 10, 40 ...*anuraktā sā* are nom. sent. This form is also used when the person speaking relates events that have taken place in the immediate past: 8, 20; 36; 11, 20 *adya ... tāvan mayā dṛṣṭāḥ... gṛhītvā pradhāvito 'ham ... tāsāṃ madhye ... ekā triśūlena tāḍitā ... vastrābharaṇāni patitāni, tadā mayā gṛhītāni*. In the other parts of the text the v. adj. either expresses the narrative past or serves as an introductory formula before a stanza etc. In the second member of a *yāvat* + indic. pr., *tāvat* ... sentence the v. adj. is constantly found: 8, 9; 10; 10, 36. The active forms, to be found in the narrative parts, are: *asti* 5, 9 and 7, 30 at the beginning of a story (timeless present); 5, 28 *pratyahaṃ darśanaṃ karoti* (durative and periphrastical, at the end of a pericope, before *ekasmin divase*); *asti* "finds himself" in a series of short, dramatic sentences 8, 19 „... *idānīṃ gaccha" sā niṣkāsitā. āgatā sā durmukhī, yatra rājakumāro 'sti*; moreover, 3 ind. pr. after *yāvat* (see above). The aorist *agamat,* occurring in the same context, 9, 20 is narrative. The perfect *jagāma* 9, 40 is placed at the end of a pericope *dadṛśāte* 7, 33 before a stanza; *babhūva* 5, 32 in a semi-nom. sent.; 9, 45 the same form seems to serve as a means to vary the style: ...*darśanaṃ saṃjñātam*; ... *kuśalapraśnaś ca babhūva*. Like the above *dattavān* 5, 26; the other *-tavant*-forms are also narrative. In the or. dir. the indic. pr. is either dur. or mod.-fut., sometimes (6, 9 *kim abhilaṣasi*) it is a real 'present'. Ind. pr. pass. 9, 6; 22; 30 *vidyate* (intrans.); 9, 32; 33 *ko 'syā daṇḍaḥ kriyate* is 'general' and modal, "what punishment ought she to receive?"; cf. 9, 29. The imper. pass. is courteous 5, 34; 7, 29 *śrūyatām* (to a king), but the act. imper. is also used when a king is addressed (e.g. 6, 35). Friends use the latter form.

Ṛgveda.

From the Ṛgveda I collected the present-forms in *-ya-* 'pass.' mentioned in Delbrück's Syntax [67], Grassmann's Wörterbuch and Avery's Contributions [68]. There are 191 indic. forms (1 pers. sg. 1, 2 sg. 38, 3 sg. 139, 3 du. 1, 1 pl. 1, 3 pl. 11 [69]). They are often intrans.: 5, 54, 12 *sam acyanta* "crumble down"; 6, 2, 8 *ajyase* "lässt du treiben dich" (Grassmann, R.-V. übers.); 5, 21, 2 *idhyase* "flare up"; cf. 8, 6, 30;

[67] B. Delbrück, Altindische Syntax, § 159, p. 268 sqq.
[68] J. Avery, Contributions to the history of Verb-inflexion in Sanskrit J.A.O.S., 10 (1880), p. 219 sqq.
[69] See Avery, o.c., p. 318.

10, 34, 6 *tapyate* "suffers grief, is grieved"; 1, 84, 17 *tujyate* "flieht" (Geldner, Übers.); 10, 146, 3 *dṛśyate* "es zeigt sich"; 5, 34, 7 *dhriyate* "hält sich" (Geldner); 1, 81, 3 *dhīyate* "steht auf dem Spiel" (Geldner); 9, 69, 2 *pṛcyate* "ergiesst sich" (Grassmann); cf. 1, 110, 4; 7, 21, 2 *ni ... bhriyante* "sie stürzen nieder" (Grassmann[70]); 5, 31, 12 *ava ... bhriyāte* "herabdrängen"; 10, 90, 5 *aty aricyata* "reached beyond"; 1, 31, 14 *ucyase* "du heisst"; cf. e.g. 3, 29, 11; 6, 28, 6; 7, 82, 2 etc.; 1, 176, 2 *anu ... upyate* "folgen"[71]; 5, 44, 9 *vidyate*; cf. 10, 64, 2; 9, 71, 1 *ā ... sṛjyate* "ergiesst sich"; 69, 2 *sicyate* "ergiesst sich"; cf. 39, 5; 62, 13; 5, 54, 7 *na sa jīyate maruto na hanyate*; cf. 10, 152, 1 *hanyate* ± "get it hot"; *matiḥ ... vacyate* "mein Denken schwingt sich"; 9, 2, 2 *ā vacyasva* "quill hervor". Nor is a Fr. *on*-passive unfrequent, some instances of which we would prefer to call 'agentless passives': 10, 85, 28 *patir bandheṣu badhyate*; 9, 66, 9 *ajyase*; 8, 38, 10 *yābhyāṃ gāyatram ṛcyate*; cf. 7, 70, 6; 3, 25, 5 *agne apāṃ sam idhyase duroṇe* may also be considered as intrans.; cf. 10, 118, 5 etc.; 4, 15, 4; 3, 27, 13; 14, 10; 10, 112, 9 *na ṛte tvat kriyate kiṃ cana* "without you nothing is done"; cf. 3, 41, 3; 8, 79, 3; 9, 74, 4; 4, 51, 6 *na vi jñāyante* "sie sind nicht zu unterscheiden". At times such a *-ya*-form is accompanied by a loc., e.g. 1, 53, 1; 135, 2 *deveṣu hūyate* "... wird bei (unter) den Göttern geopfert" (Geldner); 10, 22, 1 *kasminn adya jane mitro na śrūyate* "bei welchem Mann lässt er ... sich hören?"; 116, 3 *sūyate pārthiveṣu*; vāl. 3, 9. An instr. of circumstance etc. is found: 1, 188, 11 *gāyatreṇa sam ajyate* "wird unter Gesang gesalbt"; an instr. of instrument etc.: 1, 12, 6 *agnināgniḥ sam idhyate*; 164, 47 *ghṛtena pṛthivī vy adyate*; 3, 24, 2; 6, 5, 6; 9, 65, 6; 68, 9 *adbhiḥ ... mṛjyate;* 86, 47 *yad gobhiḥ ... samajyase*, cf. 8, 20, 8; 3, 40, 6 etc.; 10, 118, 4; 151, 1 *śraddhayāgniḥ sam idhyate*. In some cases the character of the instrumental may give rise to some doubt: instr. or agentis?: 9, 76, 4 *yaḥ sūryasyāsireṇa mṛjyate* "who is cleaned by (means of) the rays of the sun", cf. 1, 12, 6 (see above). Instr. ag. 3, 1, 21 *jātavedā viśvāmitrebhir idhyate*; 10, 69, 8; 91, 1; 3, 26, 3; 62, 7 *asmābhis tubhyaṃ śasyate*; 6, 45, 6 *nṛbhiḥ suvīra ucyase* „bei Männern heisst du ..." (Grassmann); 7, 76, 7 *ribhyate vasiṣṭhaiḥ*; 8, 4 *hūyase nṛbhiḥ*; 54, 1; 9, 3, 3 *eṣa devo*

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[70] In his Wörterbuch Grassmann remarks (850 f.): „Die passiven und medialen Formen haben oft eine Bedeutung, die zwischen der passiven und reflexiven schwankt, z.B. „gefüllt werden" und „sich füllen".

[71] Cf. Geldner, Der Rigveda übers. ... (1923), p. 230.

vipanyubhiḥ ... ṛtāyubhiḥ harir vājāya mṛjyate; 24, 3 *nṛbhir yato vi nīyase*; 99, 8; 27, 3; 78, 2; 86, 12.

At times the agens is 'suppressed': 1, 77, 1 *kathā dāśemāgnaye kasmai devajuṣṭocyate bhāmine gīḥ*; cf. 9, 78, 2.

The part. praes. pass. in *-yá-* serves as an attrib. or appos.: 1, 11, 5; 5, 30, 14; 6, 38, 2; 55, 2; 7, 35, 14; 8, 2, 14; 10, 31, 9; 55, 7; 89, 6 etc. This part. is attended by an instr. of circumstance etc.: 4, 34, 6 *namasā hūyamānāḥ*; of instrument etc. (instr. sociat.): 2, 40, 3 *manasā yujyamānam*; instr. instr. or ag.?: 4, 58, 6 *hṛdā manasā pūyamānāḥ*; instr. ag.: 3, 8, 9 *unnīyamānāḥ kavibhiḥ*; 4, 58, 4 *paṇibhir guhyamānam*; 5, 3, 8; 6, 69, 2; 7, 63, 3 *rebhair ud ety anumadyamānaḥ*; 9, 30, 2 etc.; 96, 16; 10, 98, 8; cf. 9, 62, 13; gen. ag.: 6, 49, 13 *tasya te śarmann upadadyamāne.*

The aorist in *-i-* is often found: there are 178 indicatives and about 40 subjunctives [72]. Most of them are without any doubt intransitives or eventive, agentless forms [73]: *aceti* "ist erschienen", *ajani* "ist geboren", *abodhi* "ist erwacht", *aroci* "ist erglommen", *asādi* "hat sich niedergesetzt" etc. Although this sense is almost always evident, 'passive' translations are sometimes found (e.g. 7, 73, 3 "ein eifriger Bote ist euch erweckt", *abodhi* [74]), where I should prefer an intransitive ("he has become mentally active"). Other forms are as a rule agentless 'passives' or impersonal: *adhāyi, ayāmi*; but at times an intrans. meaning is found, e.g. 10, 29, 1 *vane na vā yo ny adhāyi cākan* "has set down". The agens is occasionally expressed by another verbal form at a short distance, e.g. 1, 119, 6; *yuvaṃ rebhaṃ pariṣūter uruṣyathaḥ ... | yuvaṃ śayor avasam pipyathur gavi pra dīrgheṇa vandanas tāri āyuṣā*; 4, 12, 6. The 'origin' of the process is expressed by an abl. + the prep. *ā*: 8, 63, 7 *iyaṃ te navyasī matir agne adhāyi asmad ā* "es ist dir dieses neue Lied ... dargebracht von uns" (Grassmann). An inst. of instrument etc. is found 3, 61, 6; 5, 1, 1 *abodhi agniḥ samidhā janānām*; 4, 16, 4 *svar yad vedi ... arkaiḥ*; 6, 12, 4. An instr. instr. or ag.?: 9, 97, 23 *pra raśmibhir daśabhir bhāri bhūma*; 10, 144, 5; 6. An instr. ag. occurs: 1, 20, 1 *stomo viprebhir āsayā akāri*; 1, 63, 9 *akāri ta indra gotamebhir brahmāṇi* (cf. 61, 16; 62, 13, where active turns are used); 184, 5 (the verb *akāri* is, however,

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[72] See also Avery, o.c., pp. 275 and 318; Delbrück, Altindische Tempuslehre (Syntaktische Forschungen, II, 1876), p. 51 ff.; idem, Altindische Syntax, § 157.

[73] See also the survey given by A.J. Eaton, The Ātmanepada in Ṛigveda, Diss. Leipzig 1884, p. 21 ff.

[74] Delbrück, Altind. Tempuslehre, p. 16.

met with 12 times without an instr. ag.); 10, 45, 12 *astāvi ... ṛṣibhiḥ*; 63, 17 *astāvi jano diviyo gayena*; 2, 20, 8 *tasmai tavasiyam anu dāyi satrendrāya devebhir arṇasātau* "diesem Indra ward von den Göttern im Kampf um das Wasser ganz und gar die Überlegenheit zugestanden"; 6, 25, 8 *anu te dāyi ... | anu kṣatram ... devebhiḥ* (in these instances the agens is placed at a great distance); 6, 20, 2 *asuriyaṃ devebhir dhāyi viśvam*; 4, 7, 1 *ayam iha prathamo dhāyi dhātṛbhir hotā*; 8, 81, 29. The agens is expressed by an encl. pronom.: 1, 162, 7 interpreted in this way by Geldner[75]; "ein schönes Gedicht ist von mir gemacht" *suman me 'dhāyi manma*, because *manma* (*stomam, dhiyam*) *dhā-* means "ein Gedicht machen"; 175, 1 *matsi, apāyi te ... madaḥ*. 6, 29, 5, however, an intrans. meaning seems to be expressed: *na te antaḥ śavaso dhāyi asya*. The gen. ag. *eṣām* occurs 1, 61, 15 *asmā id u tyad anu dāyi eṣām* "ihm ward das von ihnen zugestanden" (Geldner).

As is well known, Vedic middle forms may be used in a 'passive' sense; very often, however, this so-called passive is an intransitive. RV. 7, 17, 1 *barhir urviyā vi stṛṇītām* has been interpreted as a passive by Grassmann, Ludwig etc., but Delbrück[76] rightly translated "...breite sich aus". Occasionally an instr. ag. has been added: 1, 135, 6 (*ime vāṃ somā ... iha*) *adhvaryubhir bharamāṇā ayaṃsata* "von den Adhvaryu's aufgetragen sind sie dargereicht" (Ge.); 1, 92, 7 *divaḥ stave duhitā gotamebhiḥ* "the daughter of heaven is praised by the G." (but *gṛṇe*[77]) may be interpreted as "(he, it) obtains praise"; in the same way *śṛṇve* 1, 74, 7 "man hört"; 9, 41, 3; 10, 94, 6 "es klingt"; 6, 47, 16 *śṛṇve vīraḥ ... damāyan*; 3, 55, 20; 5, 73, 7 *ś. ... saṃ taniḥ* "schallt Getön" etc.; 4, 17, 9 *ya ājiṣu maghavā śṛṇva ekaḥ* has been translated by Delbrück "der als Mächtiger in Schlachten allein berühmt ist". "Verhältnismässig häufig", Delbrück says, "ist passivischer Gebrauch bei aus der Wurzel gebildeten Participien auf *-āná-*, die man zum Präsens oder Aorist ziehen kann"[78]. In fact these participles are comparatively often accompanied by an instr. ag.: 3, 10, 4 *añjānaḥ sapta hotṛbhiḥ* (2, 8, 4; 9, 50, 5; 103; 2; 107, 22 instr. instr. etc.; 4, 58, 9 without an instr.); 9, 64, 19 *yujāna ṛkvabhiḥ*; 97, 28 (ag. or instr.?: 6, 49, 5 *yujāna-* 'in passivem Sinne'[79] occurs 5 times without an in-

[75] Geldner, Der Rigveda übersetzt und erläutert, I (1923), p. 201.
[76] Delbrück, Altindische Syntax, § 156 (p. 263 f.).
[77] See Delbrück, o.c., p. 264, n. 1.
[78] Delbrück, o.c., p. 264.
[79] Grassmann, Wörterbuch, 1118.

str.); 1, 130, 10 *divodāsebhir indra stavānaḥ*; 7, 36, 5; 9, 97, 5 (but without an agens 1, 12, 11; 31, 8; 4, 11, 2; 5, 10, 7 etc.); 9, 76, 2 *hinvānaḥ ... manīṣibhiḥ*; *saṃvidāna-* is accompanied by an instr. soc. (7, 44, 4 etc.), *vidāna-* (1, 169, 2) is not a passive. I have not examined all the instances of the perfect. med. — according to Avery's list there are 843 indicatives and 70 other forms —; it has, however, already been stated by Delbrück [80] that 2, 9, 3 *pra tve havīṃsi juhure samiddhe* may be interpreted as "haben sich ergossen"; 7, 90, 1 on the other hand is a genuine passive: *pra ... dadrire vām adhvaryubhir ... sutāsaḥ*.

As a description of the sentences with a verbal adjective acting as verbum finitum has not been given hitherto — Delbrück who remarked that "die Form auf *-tá-* in dieser Verwending sehr häufig (ist)" [81], mentions only a few examples—I examined the sūktas 1-70 of the 1st and 1-42 of the 3d maṇḍala and the whole of the 2d maṇḍala. In these texts the ppp. is used as predicate; 1, 25, 17 *yato me madhu ābhṛtam* (it is perfectly immaterial to the auditors who has brought the drink, it has been brought, it is at the disposal of the man who drinks); 32, 10 *nihitaṃ śarīram* "war sein Leib begraben", Geldner, why "war"? "he lies interred", the author continues: ... *vi caranty āpo* "the waters flow over (him)"; 34, 2 *trayaḥ skambhāsaḥ skabhitāsaḥ* "drei Stützen sind befestigt" (Ge.) (the author continues: *trir naktaṃ yāthaḥ*); 8 *tredhā haviṣ kṛtam ... rakṣethe;* 36, 5 (3-5 I indic. praes., II *tve viśvā saṃgatāni vratā*); 57, 1 after an adj. acting as a predicate (*durdharam*): *apāvṛtam* "is open" [82]; 2, 3, 4 *barhir vardhamānaṃ ... stīrṇam*; 11 *ghṛte śritaḥ*; 5, 2 *ā yasmint sapta raśmayas tatāḥ*; 10, 1; 14, 10 *nibhṛtam ma etat* "it is settled, certain..."; 16, 2; 18, 6 *ayaṃ hi te ... soma ... pariṣikto madāya*; 28, 8; 36, 5 (3 ×); 3, 1, 7; 12, 8; 18, 5; 28, 2; 29, 2; 30, 2 (2 ×); 14; 35, 7 [83]; these instances represent the adjectival use of the ppp.; it denotes a state or a condition. Cf. also 2, 12, 4 *yenemā viśvā cyavanā kṛtāni*. 2, 41, 4 another interpretation might be admitted: *ayaṃ vām ... sutaḥ somaḥ* "has been pressed out (just now"; cf. also 3, 42, 5; whereas 1, 51, 12 *ā sma rathaṃ ... tiṣṭhasi, śāryātasya prabhṛtāḥ* (viz. the soma-drinks) this actual sense is almost certain; in a vivid relation of past ('historical') facts: 1, 33,

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[80] Delbrück, o.c., p. 264 f.

[81] Delbrück, o.c., p. 394. See also J. Bloch, La phrase nominale en sanskrit, M.S.L. 14 (1906-1908), p. 31.

[82] 1, 63, 9 has been interpreted incorrectly by Delbrück (o.c., p. 394), *oktā* is an appos. ppp. (see Geldner, o.c., I, p. 75).

[83] 35, 7, however, might be compared with 2, 41, 4; so might 3, 28, 2 and 30, 2.

6 *vṛṣāyudho na vadhrayo niraṣṭāḥ*. Another dramatic passage is 3. 4, 4 *akāri ... prasthitā ... ni asādi*; cf. also 23, 1; 29, 12; 41, 2 *satto hotā naḥ ... tistire barhiḥ*. The neg. particle *a*- has been prefixed: 1, 15, 5 *astṛtam* "invincible"; 24, 10 *adabdhāni varuṇasya vratāni* "unverletzlich" (Ge.); 52, 2 *acyutaḥ* "unshakable"; 2, 28, 9 *avyuṣṭāh...uṣāsaḥ* "not yet risen". In fine comp.: *su*-: 1, 38, 12 *susaṃskṛta*-; 2, 24, 9: 3, 30, 13; 36, 1; the agens is expressed by the first member of the compound: 1, 10, 7 *tvādātam id yaśaḥ*. The verbs *as*- or *bhū*- are added: 1, 10, 12 *juṣṭā bhavantu*; 24, 7 *nihitāḥ ... syuḥ*; 32, 11 II *apihitaṃ yad āsīt* (cf. also I *atiṣthan niruddhā*); 38, 15; 2, 30, 10 *jyog abhūvann anudhūpitāsaḥ*; all adjectives [84], as 1, 38, 4; 2, 41, 16 *apraśastā iva smasi*; 3, 30, 6 *viṣṭam astu* "es soll ein Ende gemacht werden"; 31, 20; 36, 1. An attendant instr. is seldom found: instr. ag.: 1, 58, 3 *rudrebhir vasubhiḥ purohito hotā niṣattaḥ*; 2, 37, 2 *adhvaryubhiḥ prasthitaṃ ... madhu*, neither example being narrative; 38, 7 (?). Although in the sūktas 1, 1-70 and 2 the ppp. is used as an attrib. or an appos. about 125 times (the compounds excepted), an instr. ag. is only found in 7 cases: 1, 51, 2 *taviṣībhir āvṛtam*; 54, 10 *nadiyo vavriṇā hitā viśvā anuṣṭāḥ*; 55, 8; 2, 11, 2; 17, 3; 22, 1; 38, 5. An other instr. occurs 1, 63, 9; 69, 8; 2, 3, 3(or ag.?: *īḷito agne manasā naḥ*); 4; 7, 4; 10, 3 (*a*-); 17, 1 (?); 22, 3; 23, 18 *tamasā parīvṛtam;* cf. also 1, 54, 3 (?). I add a number of instances to be found in Macdonell's Vedic Reader: as predicate: 7, 49, 4 *yāsu agniḥ praviṣṭaḥ*; 10, 129, 5 (condition etc.); 10, 90, 8 (6 *āsīt*, 7 *praukṣan, ayajanta*) *saṃbhṛtam* (,*cakre*); 12 *brāhmaṇo 'sya mukham āsīd bāhū rājaniaḥ kṛtaḥ* | *ūrū tad asya yad vaiśyaḥ padbhyāṃ śūdro ajāyata* (with a remarkable variation!); 13 *candramā ... jātaḥ, ... sūryo ajāyata*; 15; 129, 6; 135, 6 (2 ×) (narrative past); 10, 15, 5 *upahūtāḥ pitaraḥ* ... "invited are the ... Fathers" (actual past); it would appear to me that the greater frequency of this use in these sūktas which form part of the 10th maṇḍala, is due, not so much to a later origin of these parts of the Ṛgveda, as to their containing other matter. The instr. ag., which is seldom found, occurs e.g. 8, 65, 4 (after 2 *abhinat*, 3 *vi airayat*) in a vivid enumeration of Indra's achievements: *ayaṃ ha yena vā idaṃ suvar marutvatā jitam*.

The gerundive seldom serves as predicate: 1, 14, 8 *ye yajatrā ya īḍyāḥ*; 2, 22, 4; with *as*- or *bhū*-: 1, 33, 2 *yaḥ stotṛbhyo havyo asti yāman* "der für die Sänger auf seiner Fahrt anzurufen ist"; 38, 5

[84] 3, 29, 1 I consider *kṛtam* to be an appos.

mā ... bhūd ajoṣyaḥ; 63, 6; 2, 2, 11 *sa no bodhi ... praśaṃsyaḥ*; 4, 1; with an instr. ag.: 1, 1, 2 *agniḥ ... ṛṣibhir īḍiyaḥ*; cf. also 9, 76, 1 *anumādyo nṛbhiḥ*.

Atharvaveda.

In the fourth book of the Atharvaveda active verbal forms serve 862 times as predicates; there are 123 nominal sentences, no *-tavant*-predicates and 29 'passive' forms acting as predicates. The *-ta*-form (23 instances) denotes a condition etc., it is a real "verbal adjective"; there are, however, some peculiarities to be noted: without an ag. and without *as-* etc. (12 ×) it is only such an adj.: 4, 11, 8 *yatraiṣa vaha āhitaḥ* "where ... is set"; 8; 24, 6; 28, 2 *viditāv iṣubhṛtām asiṣṭhau* "who are known as best of ..."; 35, 4 *yasmān māsā nirmitāḥ* ... "out of which were fashioned the ... months"; 4; 6; it is a verbal member of a predicate: 6, 7 *sarve te vadhrayaḥ kṛtāḥ* "they (are) all made impotent"; 7; when the v. adj. is placed at the beginning the sentence is emotional: 3, 6 *mūrṇā mṛgasya dantā apiśīrṇā u pṛṣṭayaḥ*. The instr. ag. is added: 24, 2; 25, 2 "by the influence of whom ... (a thing finds itself in a certain condition)"; (cf. 26, 7); gen. ag. 16, 5; 25, 2; v. adj. + *as-*: 12, 2 *yat te riṣṭaṃ yat te dyuttam asti;* 19, 2; 37, 3; 4; 5. The indic. pr. is intrans.: 9, 10 *ucyase* (with variation *asi- u.*); 21, 6; 36, 10 *mucyate*; once an 'agentless pass.': 24, 4 *yasmai mīyante svaravaḥ*; an instr. ag. is added: 22, 5 *yena jayanti na parājayante*; an intr. conj. 16, 4 *mucyātai*. The perf. *saṃśaśre* denotes a condition from an action the agens of which is left unmentioned: 12, 7 *yadi kartaṃ patitvā saṃśaśre* "if, having fallen into a pit, he has been crushed...".

In the Taitt. Saṃh. (5, 1, 1-5, 5, 10; II, p. 1-88 W.) * the *yá*-form (indic.) is to be found rather often (about 70 occurrences beside a small number of other forms). It is an intransitive or an 'agentless passive', which may be translated by an intr. verb, by Fr. *on* or its equivalent or by a 'passive construction without an agens'. Cf., e.g., p. 3 *kriyate* "occurs", 12 *pacyate* "ripens"; 15 *bhidyate* "breaks"; *hanyate* "is destroyed" (Keith), I should prefer "goes to ruin"; 29 *aśīryanta*; 40 *jīryanti* "grow old"; 42 *ucyante* Dutch "heten"; etc.; 'impersonal' (Fr. *on*), the subject is unexpressed 69, 1 *yujyate* "is yoked", 'agentless pass.' 36 *reto dhīyate*; the subject is known to everybody who is versed in the things under discussion 66 *hūyate* "the offering is made" (Keith); 14 *kriyate*; 36; agens in the back-

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* Erroneously omitted at p. 34.

ground 80 *tābhyo vā eṣa ā vṛścyate* "he is cut off". At times the subject has been mentioned in the context: 73 *vāyave ... tūparam ālabhate, tejo 'gner vāyus, tejasa eṣa ālabhate* "to V. ...he offers a hornless animal; V. is the t. of A., it is offered to t."; cf. 75; 33; cf. 45; 56; now and then the 'general subject' is meant[85]: 16 *ambarīṣe vā annam bhriyate* "in a frying-pan food is kept"; 43 *dakṣiṇenānnam adyate* (a 'fig. etym.' also 45 *vidhā vidhīyate*); 71. 51 it is immaterial who is the author of the process designated by the verb, the 'gramm. subject', however, has been mentioned in the context and is found at the beginning of the sentence: *viṣurūpam asya gṛhe dṛśyate yasya...*; the 'gramm. subj.' follows 77 *yajuṣā vā eṣā kriyate, y. pacyate ... yad ukhā.* An instr. is seldom added: 13 *chandobhir vā eṣā kriyate* (instr. of concomitancy); 61 *vaiśvakarmaṇena pāpmano niramucyata* (instr. instrumenti). The part. praes. pass. is found in a loc. abs.: p. 5, as an attrib. (appos.) 39. The ppp. is seldom to be found: 29 *vajreṇaivāsmai paśūn parigṛhṇāti* (action), *tasmād vajreṇa paśavaḥ parigṛhītāḥ* (condition) (instr. instr.); 52.

Kaṭhopaniṣad.

In the Kaṭhopaniṣad the ppp. serves as a predicate: 2, 4 *jñātā*; 4 *viparīte*; 20 *nihitaḥ*; 4, 9 *arpitāḥ*; 4, 8; 5, 8 *śritāḥ*; 6, 2 *niḥsṛtam*; 14 *śritāḥ*; + acc. 1, 29; 2, 3; 6, 16. The ppp., used as a predicate, is attended by an instr. 6, 9; by an instr. ag. 4, 8, where it denotes a condition: *garbha iva subhṛto garbhiṇībhiḥ*; 1, 21 *devair ... vicikitsitam* "there was enquired by the gods"; 22; 2, 10 *mayā ... cito 'gniḥ* "I have...". A periphr. pred. is found 1, 11 *bhavitā pratītaḥ*. The ppp. is used as an attribute or as an apposition: 1, 15, 2, 12; 13; 3, 5; 17; 4, 1; 14; 15; 5, 2; 9; 6; 2; 17; with an instr. ag. 1, 20 *etad vidyām anuśiṣṭas tvayā*; 2, 8; the agens is expressed by the first member of a compound: 1, 11 *matprasṛṣṭaḥ*; 25; app., when forming the second member of a compound: 2, 12; 3, 4; 5. The ppp. is app. of an accus. etc. 1, 11; 14; 3, 1 (+ acc.); 1, 10 (ag.) *tvatprasṛṣṭaṃ mābhivadet.* The ppp. in initio comp.: 1, 3; 10; 11; 2, 20. Ppp. as a subst. 2, 14; 19; 23; 5, 8. Loc. abs. 2, 8 (ag.) *ananyaprokte.* — Gerundives: pred. 1, 21 *suvijñeyam*; 22; 2, 7; 8 *su-*; 8; 6, 13; + gen. ag. 1, 5 *kiṃ svid*

[85] The 3d pers. pl. occurs p. 9 *bibhyati* "people are afraid"; 26 *dīkṣayanti. haranty, ahṛta evāsyāgniḥ ...* "if the waters strive to drag away his fire, verily it remains unmoved"; 86 *yat saṃcitam ājyena prokṣati tena pūtas tena medhyas tena prokṣitaḥ* "in that he anoints it..., thereby it is purified...". With *as-*: 78 *saṃyattā āsan* "were in conflict". Gerundives are used as predicates: p. 36; 49; 77; 14; + instr. instr. 26.

yamasya kartavyam; 2, 23; + instr. ag. 1, 25 *na ... lambhanīyā manuṣyaiḥ*; 2, 7; 4, 8; + instr. instr. 1, 27; 2, 9; 23; instr. instr. or ag.? 4, 11 *manasaivedam āptavyam*; as a subst. 2, 13; 14. — Personal forms; intrans. 1, 6 *pacyate* "ripens"; 2, 1 *hīyate 'rthāt* "he loses..."; 3, 15 *pramucyate* "escapes"; 6, 14 "cease"; 4, 3 *pariśiṣyate* "remains"; 5, 4; 5, 2 *vimucyate*; 8 *ucyate*; 6, 1; 8 *mucyate*; 15 *prabhidyante*; 'agentless pass.': 2, 18 *hanyate*; with an instr. instr. 2, 10; instr. instr. or ag.? 3, 12 *dṛśyate ... buddhyā*; 5, 11 (2 ×) *lipyate* (*bāhyadoṣaiḥ*) "is sullied (spoilt) by the defects of external things". An interesting instance is 6, 12 *astīti bruvato 'nyatra kathaṃ tad upalabhyate* "how could it have perceived itself at another place (> by another) than him who says that it exists?" Part. pr. pass. app. 2, 8, + instr. ag. 2, 5 *andhenaiva nīyamānā yathāndhāḥ*; in a loc. abs. 1, 2 (prose); 2, 18. Perf. 6, 5 *pari dadṛśe* (intr.).

Mahābhārata.

In the Bhagavadgītā, too, most *-ya*-forms are intransitive: 1, 29 *pariśuṣyati* IV "becomes parched" and 30 *paridahyate* "is afire" are used in the same way, nor is it easy to draw precisely the limits of division in other cases; *praduṣyanti* IV, 1, 41, e.g. may be translated by "are corrupted". Cf. also 2, 20a. Intrans.: 2, 25 *ucyate* (also 48; 55; 56; 3, 6; 40; 6, 3; 8; 18; 8, 1 etc.); 31 *vidyate* "exists, occurs" (also 40; 4, 38; 8, 16 etc.); 34 *atiricyate* "is worse"; 3, 7 *viśiṣyate* "is superior" (12, 12); 13 *mucyante*[86] "rid themselves of, are freed from" (also 31; 5, 3 *pramucyate*; 10, 3); 4, 22 *nibadhyate* "clings to the saṃsāra" (5, 12; 18, 9); 5, 7 *lipyate* (13, 31; 32; 32); 7, 2 *avaśiṣyate* "remains"; 11, 27 *saṃdṛśyante*; 13, 1 *abhidhīyate* (17, 27; 18, 11); 17, 18 *yujyate* "is used". In other cases the agens remains in the back-ground (it is, of course, impossible to draw the line): 1, 13 *abhyahanyanta* "were sounded"; 2, 20 *hanyate* "is slain"; 44 *vidhīyate* "is established" (cf. 67); 15, 3 *upalabhyate* "is comprehended" (Fr. *on*); 17, 18 *kriyate* "takes place, is performed" (19 etc.); 20 *dīyate* (21; 22); 26 *prayujyate* "is employed"; 18, 25 *ārabhyate* "is undertaken". (The expression *tapyante ye tapo janāḥ* is found 17, 5). The instr. ag. is added: 1, 43 *doṣaiḥ ... utsādyante jātidharmāḥ* (caus.); 3, 5 *kāryate*; 5, 5 *prāpyate*; ibid. *tat* (*sthānam*) *yogair api gamyate*; 6, 22 *duḥkhena ... vicālyate* (14, 23); 44 *hriyate*; 7, 5 *dhāryate*; 12, 5

[86] See Whitney, A Sanskrit Grammar, § 761 b.

avāpyate; 17, 11 *ijyate* (in 12 the verb is repeated without the instr.); 25 *kriyante*. Other instr. (or, if so, the character of the instr. ag. is less pronounced): 3, 38 *dhūmenāvriyate vahniḥ*; 4, 14 *karmabhiḥ* ... *badhyate*; 5, 10 *lipyate* ... *pāpena*; 6, 35 *vairāgyeṇa ca gṛhyate*; 10, 7 *yogena yujyate*. The future *(vi)mokṣyase* (4, 16; 32; 9, 1), which is usually translated "thou shalt be freed" etc., is intr. ("you shall be, become, free", or "you shall rid yourself of" etc.).

In Mbh. 5, a. 186-192 the indic. pr. act. and med. is, in general, either 'timeless' or a durative (191, 20); 186, 3 it expresses 'modality', 189, 23 a future (emotively used); the perfect is the chief narrative tense. 186, 12 ff. the imperf. expresses such acts as have been witnessed by the person speaking, in most cases, however, it expresses the durat. parokṣa; 186, 37 it is a simple narrative. Whereas the perf. (*veda* and *āha* excepted) and the imperf. occur only in the narrative (87 and 46 cases resp.), the aor. is found in the narrative (*agāt, agamat, prāyāt, prādāt,* 11 cases) and in the dialogue (5 cases), where it expresses the past, which has not yet lost its importance and actuality. Now, 192, 46 ff. a reprimand begins with the aor., which is very much to the point: *yasmād adās* ... *cāgrahīḥ,* but 47 the god speaking goes on with the pass. constr. ...*apravṛttaṃ sudurbuddhe yasmād etat tvayā kṛtam*. The ppp.-constr., however, is chiefly found in the dialogues (40: 15), where it is expressive of the 'actual' past, of a state or condition resulting from a past act, of a dramatic representation (e.g. 189, 12, where the text goes on with an aor.); at times it must be rendered by a plqpf. (192, 20; 26, in subordinate sentences). Of course, there are some verb. adjectives with the syntactical value of pure adjectives, e.g. 186, 15 *vyathito dīno gatacetā ivābhavam*. In the narrative the use of this construction is found, when the author represents the events in a dramatic way, e.g. 190, 11 *sa hi prakṛtyā vai bhītaḥ... bhayaṃ tīvram anuprāpto drupadaḥ*; 192, 63 or when a condition etc. is expressed. The imp. act. is used in a menace, e.g. 189, 23 *phalaṃ prāpnuhi durmate,* in a supplication addressed to a god: 192, 30 etc.; the imp. pass. is courteous, "let us..."; e.g. 179, 7; impersonal: 192, 44. The ind. praes. pass. is impers. (and intrans.): 186, 4 *vidyate* "es gibt"; intrans. 30 *kliśyase*; *śakyate* + inf. 186, 7; imper. intr. 187, 16.

The story of Nala 1-19 (= Mbh. 3, a. 52-70).

I—Not all categories will be treated. V. adj. acting as predicates are very frequent. Unaccompanied by *as-* or *bhū-* and trans., agentless:

14 occurrences; 3 a personal pat., 11 an inanimate pat.; 12 in oratio recta. More than once a pure nominal sentence is formed in this way; 3, 21 *surakṣitaṃ hi me veśma*; 11, 7 *nākāle vihito mṛtyur martyānām*; 8 *paryāptaḥ parihāso 'yam*; other forms and constructions to express the same thoughts would be quite uncommon; personal forms of the verb *pari-āp-* are, for instance, extremely rare; cp. also 13, 10; 39; 8, 5; 5. Elsewhere however, the turn is equivalent to a verbal sentence: 11, 6 *śakyase tā giraḥ samyak kartuṃ mayi ..., yās ... kathitāḥ purā?* = "that you have spoken formerly", here the partic. constr. is very suitable to a gentle manner of speaking: the agens is left unexpressed. 13, 23 the ag. has been mentioned before (actuality), cp. 17, 4 (modesty?:) *te vayaṃ damayantyarthe carāmaḥ ... seyam āsāditā bālā*; 15 *bhīmasya ... sā dattā* expresses the past which is still important. The ag. is of no moment 18, 25. 13, 15 the patiens is emphasized and the stanza, while summarizing the contents of the preceding portion of the text, describes the resultant impression of events which have taken place: *evaṃ prakārair bahubhiḥ ... vinihataṃ sarvaṃ samṛddhaṃ sārthamaṇḍalam.* With an instr. agentis: 49; 31 pers. pat., 18 inanim. pat.; 40 or. dir. Sometimes the nominal character of the constr. is clear, or, at least, perceptible: 9, 3a *śiṣṭā te damayanty ekā* (nom. sent., *ś.* qualifies D., the next pāda is on a par with a:) *sarvam anyaj jitaṃ mayā*; 4, 31; 13, 38. At times it is not easy to ascertain whether a verb. adj. acts as an appos. or as an independent predicate: 15, 16-17 *sā tu taṃ puruṣaṃ ... anugatā ... tyaktā tena ... duṣkaraṃ yadi jīvati,* both *anug.* and *ty.* might be considered as appos., although I prefer to disconnect *d.y.j.*; 17, 50; cp. 12, 68. For the most part this constr. expresses the actual past: 4, 24 *kaccid dṛṣṭā tvayā ... d-ī...*; 3, 25; 4, 3; 19; 27 (2 ×); 5, 19; 20; 6, 4; 7; 12, 29; 34; 53; 55; 98; 13, 22; 26; 38; 39; 14, 14; 17, 6; 9; 18, 3; 19, 17; 20. Now and then the past is more remote but still actual: 12, 15; 16; 16 (cp. 18c *uktavān asi yat*); 83; 13, 42; 14, 5; 15, 19; 17, 7. Sometimes it expresses the narrative past 5, 28 (*jagrāha, asṛjat, varayāmāsa,*) *tato hāheti sahasā muktaḥ śabdo narādhipaiḥ*; 29 (here the v. adj. has an actualizing effect: the action which happened suddenly is presented to the reader in a vivid manner); 10, 7; cp. 17, 15; 12, 71 *tair uktā* (the subj. being known, is left unexpressed) is a short indication of the speaking person, perhaps originally an apposition, but, as it presents itself in this context, a concise and vivid turn of expression. 13, 12, in a narrative stanza the pred. expresses a qualification or condition of the patiens which, appearing in an anaphorical repeti-

tion, is emphasized: *kecid dantaiḥ karaiḥ kecit kecit padbhyāṃ hatā gajaiḥ*, cp. 11, where the dynamic *te taṃ mamarduḥ* expresses action. 9, 1 the patiens consists of a series of words expressive of totality: *puṣkareṇa hṛtaṃ rājyaṃ yac cānyad vasu kiṃcana* the author dwells upon the vastness of the possessions robbed from N. Incidentally, an apposition accompanies the agens: 18, 2 *naiṣadhaṃ mṛgayāṇena ... mayā nalam ... bhāṅgāsurir upasthitaḥ;* 10; cp. 12, 29 (absol.); 82; 15, 17 *tyaktā tenālpapuṇyena*; 19. The type *asmābhir dṛṣṭapūrvaḥ* is found 1, 29, without an ag. 14. The ag. is expressed by an encl. pronoun: 8 ×, pers. pat. 2, inanim. pat. 6; actual past: 5, 14; 17; 13, 37; 40 (remote past); 69; 14, 17; 17, 43; cp. also 16, 10 *yatheyaṃ me purā dṛṣṭā tathārūpeyam aṅganā*. With gen. ag.: 3, 2 *yasyāhaṃ dūta īpsitaḥ*; 12, 19 *aham iṣṭā ... tava,* nominal sentences. Intrans. v. adj.: 36, 25 × pers. subj., 11 inanim. subj.; 29 or. dir. Nominal sentences, expressing a state or condition: 4, 22; 5, 4 *āsaneṣu ... āsīnāḥ pṛthivīkṣitaḥ*; 6, 4 *nivṛttaḥ sa svayaṃvaraḥ*; 9; 7, 13 part. pr.; 15 *paurajano ... avasthitaḥ* "is standing"; 9, 3; 11, 8 *bhītāham* "I am afraid"; 13, 24 *grahā na viparītāḥ*; the actual, (or result.) past: 3, 24 *praviṣṭo 'ham;* 4, 25 (+ obj.); 6, 3; 8, 10; 9, 20 (or appos. in a nom. sent.); 11, 4; 30; 12, 73; 88; 119 (+ obj.); 13, 16; 24; 26; 33; 41; 37; 57; 16, 37; 17, 37; 41; 42; 18, 13; the narrative past: 5, 39; 9, 10 *trirātram uṣito rājā*; 12, 96 *tapasāntarhitāḥ sarve*; 13, 14; 21 (in a subord. sent., being practically *ye* + appos.). Accompanied by *as-* or *bhū-*: 9 ×, 8 pers. pat., 1 inanim. pat., 9 or. dir.; 2 instr. caus. etc., 1 instr. ag.; trans.: 3, 21 b, being a semi-nominal sentence (a and d are nominal, c nom. with v. adj.) *kathaṃ cāsi na lakṣitaḥ,* the gramm. person must be expressed; cp. 10, 24d; 14, 15 (rel. sent.) *asi nikṛtaḥ* (cf. 17 *nikṛtas tvam*); emotionally 11, 3 *hatāsmi*; 3; actual past: 11, 9 *dṛṣṭo 'si;* 14, 5, in these instances the original function of the v. adj. is still quite clear. An instr. instrumenti or causae occurs 10, 24 *dharmeṇāsi samāvṛtā*; 14, 15; an instr. ag. (+ appos.) 5 *tena ... śapto 'smi.* Opt. + v. adj.: 19, 4 (interr.) *bhavet ... cintitaḥ*; 32. Intrans. 14 ×, 13 pers. subj., 1 inanim. subj.; 11 or. dir.; semi-nom. sent. 4, 27 *vismitāś cābhavan sarvāḥ*; 12, 97; 11, 3; 12, 118; 14, 7 *na śakto 'smi* + inf.; 17, 35; 18 *asmy uṣitā* (after a part. (pr. p.); act. past: 3, 20; 12, 13 *kva nu rājan gato 'si* 8; 18, *prapannāsmi* (+ 2 acc.); narr. past: 5, 9; 7, 10. Opt. + v. adj.: 12, 87; 19, 28. Thus, trans. and intrans.: *asmi* 7, *asi* 6, *smaḥ* 2, *abhavat* 2, *abhavan* 1, *bhavet* 4, *abhūt* 1.

II—Gerundives used predicatively. Without *bhū-* or *as-*: 18 instances, 7 pers. pat., 1 animal, 8 inanim. pat., 2 neutr.; 18 or. dir.; 10 × an

ag. is added: 3, 2 *kiṃ ca tad vo mayā kāryam*; 13, 27 *nātra kāryā vicāraṇā*; 69; 14, 24; 15, 3; 17. 40; 41; 41; 44; 45; 46 *tathā kāryam atandritaiḥ*; 47; 18, 15; 16; 25. The agens is not expressed, when there is no definite person acting: 13, 27 "there is no room for doubt"; 15, 3 *ahaṃ praṣṭavyaḥ* "I am 'consultable'", when we may conclude it from the context: 17, 40; 44; 45; 47; when the person speaking intentionally passes it over in order to express himself courteously or to address his desire, although it is pronounced to one single person, to an indefinite plurality of 'agents': 18, 15 *ayam artho na saṃvedyo bhīma mātaḥ kathaṃcana*. With *as-* or *bhū-*: 2 instances; 1, 20; 13, 69. *na śakyā* + instr. + infin. 10, 14.

III—The present stem in *-ya-*, 'passive': indic. 16 ×, 11 pers. pat., 5 inanim. pat.; 13 or. dir.; 3 × ag. Most of the instances are intrans.: 2, 7 *kimarthaṃ duhitā me 'dya nātisvastheva lakṣyate; 20 na dṛśyante* ("on ne les voit pas"); 5, 5; 8, 15; 11, 9 "to be visible"; 19, 26; 7, 9 *jīyate sma* "lost the game", Dutch "verloor het"; 9, 29 *vidyate* "es gibt"; 13, 40; 17, 5; 15, 5 *buddhir dhriyate me* + loc., Dutch "zich richten op"; 18, 26 *jñāyate* "it is known". With an ag.: (two instances are intrans. accompanied by an instr. expressive of "by influence of...") 8, 14 *nṛpatiḥ puṣkareṇaiva jīyate;* 13, 50 *janena kliśyate*; 10, 26 *sauhṛdenāvakṛṣyate* (clearly 'passive'); 9, 32 the 'agentless pass.' seems to have been used for the sake of indulgence: *yadi māṃ ... na vihātum ihecchasi, tat kimarthaṃ vidarbhāṇāṃ panthāḥ samupadiśyate.* Imperfect: 7 ×, 4 pers. pat., 3 inanim. pat.; 2 or. dir.; 0 ag. Intrans.: 7, 18 *ajīyata*; 9, 4 *vyadīryateva hṛdayam* "burst"; 19; 3; 14, 12 *antaradhīyata* "disappeared"; 26; 15, 13 *sa vai kenacid arthena tayā ... vyayujyata* "parted from her"; 17, 3 *na prājñāyata karhicit* "there has never been news of him". The imper. (5 inst.) is a courteous form: 2, 9 *anubhūyatām ayaṃ vīrāḥ svayaṃvaraḥ*; 4, 12; neutral: 12, 69 *āsyatām*; 4, 17 *tathā bhadre vidhīyatām*; 7, 13. The pass. future is found 14, 22 (intr.) *śreyasā yokṣyase.*

We shall now go through the indicatives in *-ya-* as they occur in the story of Sāvitrī (Mbh. 3, a. 293-299): indic. pres. 14; 9 pers., 4 inanim., 1 neutr.; 2 ag. Intrans. 4, 8 *lakṣyate*; 5, 14 *śrūyate*; 5, 75; 78 *dṛśyate* "is visible"; 84 *saṃtapyete* "are afflicted"; 6, 13 *dhriyate* "is alive"; Fr. *on*: 2, 13 *ucyate* "he is called"; 26 *kanyā pradīyate*; 5, 21 *me nīyate bhartā*; cp. also 2, 28 (2 ×); agentless passive for the sake of indulgence 5, 54 *tvayaiva datto hriyate ca*; with instr. ag. 2, 20 (in a recapitulation); 5, 41 *ucyase budhaiḥ* (cf. Nala 8, 14 etc.).

Rāmāyaṇa: the texts in Boehtlingk, Chr.³ and 3, 11-15 [87].

The verbal adjective. Attrib.: 33 cases (1 × *ati-*). Subst.: 2. Predicate: without *as-* or *bhū-*, trans., without ag.: 18 ×, 4 pers. pat., 12 inanim. pat., 2 animal, expressing the actual past or actuality in general in or. dir.: B. 107, 13; 19; 108, 3; 17; 109, 26; 112, 29; 113, 5 + i. caus. *aham caikeṣuṇā hataḥ*; 18; 11, 43; 12, 11; 12; 13, 8; the v. adj. is a real adj. 15, 5; 13, 19 *viviktaḥ ... puṇyo ramyas tathaiva ca*; + instr. rei 15, 12. With an instr. ag.: 26 ×, 7 pers., 15 inan., 4 n., expressing the actual past in or. dir.: B. 107, 12; 14; 112, 24 *iṣuṇābhihataḥ kena*; 24 *kasya vāpakṛtaṃ mayā*; 113, 6 ('actual result') *kena sma nihatāḥ sarve*; 15; 16; 11, 31; 53; 54; 15, 28 (2 ×); 13, 16 *vijñātam... mayā* "is known to me"; in a narrative: 11, 15 sqq. *sarvadevair niyojitāḥ °apsarasaḥ ... apsarobhiḥ ... muniḥ ... nīto madanavaśyatvam ... tāś ca ... muneḥ patnītvam āgatāḥ. taṭāke nirmitaṃ ... gṛham. tatraivāpsarasaḥ ... ramayanti* (durat. pres.); 61; 67; 11, 60; 18; cf. 12, 33; the v. adj. expresses a condition or a state: 11, 83 *yadā prabhṛti cākrāntā dig iyaṃ puṇyakarmaṇā*; the plqpf. 12, 7 *yathoktaṃ lakṣmaṇenaiva*; 11. With a gen. ag.: 13, 15 *vidito ... mama* "is known to me". The v. adj. is intrans. 23 ×, 14 p., 8 inan., 1 neutr., expressing the actual past in or. dir.: B. 104, 13; 109, 20; 112, 23; 11, 9; 49; 62; 12, 2; 3; 10; 30; 13, 3; expressing the past in a narrative: B. 112, 2; 11, 13 *pravyathitāḥ* (sc. *abhūvan* Comm.); 17; 66; 92; 14, 30 I *jātāḥ* (II *jajñire*); in the poet's narrative: 11, 68 *astaṃ gataḥ sūryaḥ*; 15, 24; the v. adj. is a real adj. 11, 78 *kṣānta-*; 83 *nirvairāḥ praśāntāḥ*; with an instr. expressing the person by whose influence... 15, 29 cf. 11, 48 *jñātāḥ* (: *jñāyamānā vartante* Comm.). The v. adj. is trans. and accompanied by *as-* or *bhū-*; 8 ×, 7 p., 1 inanim.: *asmi*: the v. adj. is practically an adj.: 112, 1 *anūḍhā tvam abhavaḥ*; 13, 1; 15, 28 *prīto 'smi*: 13, 10 *dhanyo 'smy anugṛhīto 'smi*; with a pred. adj. 107, 13 *aphalo 'smi kṛtaḥ*; + fut. 107, 4 *pūtā bhaviṣyasi*; + opt. 109, 26 *tarpitāś ca syuḥ*; 25 *bhavet*. Intrans.: 8 ×, pers. subj., 1st pers. sg. or plur.: 7; actual past: 11, 72 *sukham asmy uṣito niśām*; 94; 15, 2; the v. adj. is a real adj. 106, 15 *parituṣṭo 'smi*; 13, 1; cf. 14, 35 *saṃnato 'bhavat*; the periphr. constr. is resultative 114, 8 *śūdrāyām asmi vaiśyena jātaḥ* (= ... *putro 'smi*). Locat. absol. intrans.: 8 cases, e.g. 105, 12 *abhyudite sūrye*; 108, 2 *pranaṣṭe tu paśau*; with one member intrans. 11, 40 *prabhāte*; cp. 110, 17 *sadasyānumate*; loc. abs. trans. 113, 17. Acc. + part. constr.: 11, 94 *nivedaya māṃ prāptam* (act.

[87] Ed. Panśikar⁴, Bombay 1930.

past); 12, 9; 15, 26 etc. (± 7 inst.) ± 85-90 times a verb. adj. is used to express attendant circumstances, an appos. condition; it is very often accompanied by an instr. ag. 11, 61 *agastyena tadā devaiḥ prārthitena ... bhakṣitaḥ sa*; 64; 70 *pratigṛhītas tu muninā... nyavasat*; 73 *iti tenokto jagāma*; 76 °*pādapān hastihastair vimṛditān ... śakunisaṅghaiś ca ... pratināditān*; 93; 12, 32; 13, 9; 15, 6 etc.; 106, 27 *gautamenaivam uktasya*; an instr. causae etc. 11, 79; 12, 34; 13, 3; 14, 16 etc.; + abl. 11, 18 *tapoyogān munim yauvanam āsthitam; su-*: 15, 22 *parṇaiḥ suparicchāditān*; *parama-*: 11, 46 *paramasaṃhṛṣṭaḥ*. I found only one adverb.

Verb. adj. in compounds: iic. 49, ifc. 70, imc. 12.

Gerundives acting as pred. without an agens and without *as-* or *bhū-*: 13 ×, 4 pers., 8 inanim., 1 neutr.: 104, 16; 111, 10; 11; 13; 15; 31; 31; 32 *na bhetavyam*; 12, 30; 30; 13, 7; 7; 18; with an agens: 111, 7; 9; 17 (3 × inanim.), neutr. ag. 13, 21 *gantavyaṃ nyagrodham api gacchatā*; ger. subst. 7; ger. app. 3; ifc. 2; imc. 3. Constr. *avikreyaṃ sutam ... āha* 108, 23; 29; 30. The present stem in *-ya-*. Indicatives: 19, 4 pers. subj., 14 inanim. subj., 1 neutr. Intrans.: 105, 8 *lakṣyate*; 16; 26; 110, 25 *abhidhīyate*; + i. instr. 112, 26 *śastreṇa vadho vidhīyate*; 113, 31 *kliśyate*; 11, 7 *dṛśyate* (or Fr. *on*); 47; 50 *dṛśyante*; 50; 51; 79; 15, 11; 14; 11, 19 *śrūyate*; 13, 21 *ālakṣyate*; + instr. ag.: 11, 82 *rākṣasaiḥ ... dṛśyate nopabhujyate* (pass.); 111, 5 *supyate ... śramakhinnena* "es wird ..." ('impersonal constr.'). Imper.: 9 ×, 1 pers., 2 inan., 6 n., intr. or without an ag.; 114, 6 *apanīyatām*; 11, 9 *kathyatām*; 40 *gamyatām*; 73; 12, 11; 4 *nivedyatām*; 12 *praveśyatām*; 26 *āsyatām*; 15, 4 *dṛśyatām*. Other passive forms are rare: part. pr. attrib. 1 ×, appos. 3 ×: intr. or 'agentless pass.' 113, 24; + ag. 15, 31 *sītayā ... anvāsyamāno nyavasat*; 11, 23. Perfect: 112, 5 intr. *dadṛśire*; 11, 7 *śuśruve* (2 × inan.).

In the chapters 1-6, 9, 13 of the 5th book of the same epic the v. adj. is rather rarely used as an attrib., e.g. 9, 1 *āyatam*; 51 *supta-*. Pred., without *as-* or *bhū-*, trans., agentless: infrequent, expressing the actual past, e.g. 1, 123; 189; the same, with an agens (28 ×, 16 p., 11 inan.), expressing the actual past in or. dir.: 1, 107; 124; 133; 134; 189; 3, 30 (neutr.); 45; 13, 3; 5; 5; 11; 21; 53; 62; a condition that, having been brought about as a result of an action, still lasts: 1, 87 *aham ... sāgareṇa vivardhitaḥ*; 90; 105; 119; 143 *mama bhakṣyaḥ pradiṣṭas tvam īśvaraiḥ*; cf. 3, 46; the past: 1, 144 *vara eṣa purā datta mama dhātrā*; 151; 146 (in a narrative); in a recapitulation in the poet's narrative: 9, 69 *tāḥ sarvā rāvaṇena hṛtāḥ striyaḥ*; 70. Instr.

caus. 1, 118. Intrans.: actual past: 1, 108; 3, 23; 48; 9, 42; narrative past: 1, 144; adject. 9, 73 *viśiṣṭā guṇato hi sītā*; + instr. caus. 9, 32, etc. V. adj. + *as-* or *bhū-*, trans.: the v. adj. is practically an adj.: 1, 123 *prīto 'smi;* act. p. 176 *samākṣipto 'smi sahasā*; imper.: 13, 47 *kāmam astu hṛtā sītā*; fut.: 1, 174 *bhaviṣyāmy aham āśitā*; 13, 12 i. ag. *bhakṣitā sā bhaviṣyati*; neutr. 47; 1, 58 the v. adj. is an appos.: *saṃdhyayā samabhispṛṣṭaṃ yathā syāt sūryamaṇḍalam.* Intr.: adj. 1, 130; 132; 136 *babhūvāvasthitaḥ*; 158; 3, 15 *prasiddheyaṃ bhaved bhūmiḥ*; 13, 7. Acc. c. part. constr. 1, 188 etc. Gerundives: neutr. 1, 106 *pratikartavyam*; 124; 151; 13, 16; + i. ag. 1, 114 *tasmāt tvaṃ pūjanīyo me*; 2, 32; 3, 47; n. 1, 88. *na śakya-* + inf. + i. ag.: 2, 25 *na hi yuddhena vai laṅkā śakyā jetuṃ surair api*; 31; 3, 14; neutr.: 2, 41; 3, 24 *na śakyaṃ ... laṅkā praveṣṭum ... tvayā*; 36 etc.; 3, 29 *na śakyaṃ mām avajñāya praveṣṭuṃ nagarīm imām.* Ger. + *as-* + gen. ag.: 1, 120 *mānyo 'si mama.*

Present-stem in *-ya-*. Indic.: intrans.: 1, 63 *dṛśyate*; 72; 80; 2, 27; 13, 5; 1, 66 *lakṣyate*; 2, 27 *abhigamyate*; + i. ag. 1, 22 *bhidyate 'yaṃ girir bhūtaiḥ* [; + i. caus. 15, 49 *caturbhiḥ ... tapyate*; intr. 20, 15 *cakṣur mama nibaddhyate*: *baddhaṃ jāyate* C.; 27 *upalabhyate*: *samartho bhavati* C.]. Imperf.: intr. 1, 50 *vyavaśīryanta*; 53 *adṛśyata.* Imper.: 1, 105 *gamyatām*; 109; 123 *manyur eṣopanīyatām.* Perf.: intr.: 1, 32 *dadṛśe garuḍeneva hriyamāṇo mahoragaḥ*; 54; 55.

Saundarānanda of Aśvaghoṣa, c. 1-6, 10, (14, 15).

I—The verbal adjective acts as an attributive 4, 27; 28; 39 etc.; 3, 23 *nava ivodito raviḥ* "like the newly-risen sun" (19 ×); the negation *a-* is prefixed 4 ×; the v. adj. is attended by an instr. ag. 1, 39 *tatra tajjñair upākhyātān avāpur mahato nidhīn*; an instr. rei 3, 24 *pradīpta iva sandhyayā ghanaḥ*; the v. adj. ifc. 15 ×. 15 × the v. adj. is used as a subst., e.g. 4, 5 *ceṣṭita-* (I include 2, 10 *jāto vā vipule kule* etc.), the same, compounded with *a-* 5 ×; + instr.: 5, 48 *mayoktam* "what I have told you". 8 × it acts as an adverb.

Acting as predicate the v. adj. is ± 19 × trans., ± 15 × intrans. 24 × *as-* etc. are not added: 7 × the agens is expressed: 6, 16 *priyeṇa dṛṣṭā niyataṃ tato 'nyā ... mām agamad vihāya*: actuality, cp. 23; 41; 10, 55; cp. 61 *na dattam anyena* "no other can give this" (Johnston); at the same time expressing a state or quality: 10, 16 *kā ... cārutarā matā te*; 6, 40 (act., qual.); without an agens 5, 16 ('actual state', the author addresses his readers) *saṃkleśapakṣo dvividhaś ca dṛṣṭaḥ*, cp. 14, 23; expressive of a property: 6, 39; 5, 38;

a state in the past: 1, 24 *tasmād ikṣvākuvaṃśyās te bhuvi śākyā iti smṛtāḥ*; intrans. 4, 30 *bhagavān praviṣṭaḥ* (actual.); 6, 15 *priyasya nūnaṃ hṛdayaṃ viraktam* "has become estranged", cp. 10, 16d; 48; 5, 8; 2, 3f. *vikrāntaḥ* etc. (quality). Ifc. 2, 3. 9 × *as-* etc. are added: the form expresses a quality: 6, 46 *nirvṛtaḥ syāt*; 5, 41 *sa bhavet pramattaḥ*; 4, 15 *bhavec ca ruṣṭā*; 4, 42; periphrast.: 4, 45 *kathaṃ nu yāto na gurur bhavet*; actuality: 4, 19 *kathaṃ kṛto 'si*; the agens is expressed: 4, 6 *sṛṣṭāv abhūtām iva bhūtadhātrā* "they seemed as if produced by the Creator..."; 6, 29 *dhṛtaḥ priyeṇāyam abhūt* "it was held by ..."; 2, 45 an instr. soc. is found: *evamādibhir atyakto babhūva*. 23 × a person is subject, ± 10 × an inanimate thing. There are 14 instances of a loc. abs., 4 times it follows the predicate or the verb. The acc. c. part. constr. occurs 1, 37; 2, 20; 21; 26; 6, 3. Aśv. has also used these forms to vary his style, e.g. Bc. 4, 16. The v. adj. expressing attendant circumstances of the main action and serving as an apposition to the subject. There are 55 instances of the type 2, 25 *sthitaḥ kārtayuge dharme ... nāsrasat,* besides 6 × with instr. ag., e.g. 1, 31 *tataḥ sa tair anugataḥ ... pariciksepa,* 3 × with instr. rei (causae etc.), e.g. 1, 38 *manyunā taptāḥ ... niśaśvasuḥ,* 12 × at least ifc., e.g. 2, 7, where *iva* is added *śiśyire ... pitur aṅkagatā iva*; with *a-* 3, 4 *anadhigataḥ. iva* also 1, 13; 16; 3, 34; 1, 12 *virejur ... kṛtā iva.* Several times the v. adj. is used as an apposition to an acc. (e.g. 1, 37), then too, it may be attended by an instr. (e.g. 2, 6 *yaḥ pūrvai rājabhir yātāṃ yiyāsur dharmapaddhatim*). V. adj. as adverb: 5, 33 *dhṛṣṭam.* The ppp. is very often found i i c.: in cantos 1-4, 10 ± 32 ×, cp. also in such compounds as 1, 35 *vyāyatābaddhavāsasaḥ; 42 spaṣṭāñcitamahāpatham,* etc.; very frequently too imc.: in the same cantos ± 28 ×. Most cases of a ppp. ifc. are already mentioned; in canto 4 e.g. 7, 8 (4 ×), 18, 22, 23, 31, 33.

II—The gerundives are not numerous: this form is attrib. 3, 7 *padaṃ śivam ahāryam*; substant. 5, 42 *vadhya-*; (1, 3 *śiṣya-*, 2, 27 and 33 *bhṛtya-*); predicate: 5, 27 *etat trayaṃ khalv avaśena sevyam*; 29 *śoko niyataṃ niṣevyaḥ*; 42 *śocyah*; *na śakya-* 10, 60; 14, 48; the ger. appears ifc. 3, 8 *kṛtakāryam*; i m c. 5, 17 *prayatnaneyabuddhiḥ*; iic. 2, 45.

III—Personal forms in *-ya-* are rather numerous: cantos 1-6, 10, 14, 15: indic. pr. without an ag. 20, for the greater part intrans., 11 × a person, 10 × a thing is subject; most intransitives have an intelligible syntactical function: 5, 17 *nirmucyate* "obtains salvation"; 14, 44 *duḥkhān na vimucyate*; 14, 10 *sajyante* "attach themselves"; 15

vidhīyate "is intended for"; 43 *smṛtir yasya na vidyate* "who lacks attention"; 15, 44; 38 *dṛśyate* (2 ×); compare also 14, 47 *sa kṣaṇyate ... carann ivorvyāṃ bahukaṇṭakāyāṃ* "is hurt like a man walking on very thorny ground"; 15, 16 *dahyate*; 10, 53; 15, 47 *gato yatra na bādhyate* "by going along which one can avoid affliction" (the subject has not been expressed); 1, 58 *śrūyante* "are called". Elsewhere, however, the use of the passive voice is due to a tendency to an artificial manner of writing which exaggerates the application of devices also found in natural speech. Cp. 1, 15 *yatra sma mīyate brahma kaiścit kaiścin na mīyate kāle nimīyate somo na cākāle pramīyate* "there some contemplated the Absolute, no one did hurt (another), soma was produced (measured out) at the proper time, and no one died untimely" (*mi-* "perceive", *mī-* "injure", *mā-* "measure", *pra-mī-* "die"; the passive constr. is chosen in order to obtain a jingle). A tendency to variation is met with 14, 12 *rathākṣo 'bhyajyate yathā*; but 11 *yathā dhatte ... vraṇī*, 13 *yathā ... khādetām*; cp. also 14, 8 and 9, in 9, however, the subj. of the pass. sentence has been emphasized: *tasmād duṣyati nāhāro vikalpo 'tra tu vāryate* "therefore to take food is not wrong, but a choice of foods is prohibited". An instr. rei is added to a passive form expressing Fr. "on": 15, 16 *duṣṭena ceha manasā bādhyate vā paro na vā* "one may or may not cause hurt to another by ..."; 10, 52 *rāgāgninānena tathābhidahye*. Opt. + instr. rei 10, 52; 15, 48 Germ. *es*, Dutch *er* + pass. might be a correct translation: *yatra kleśair vidahyate* "es brennt"; the same constr. in order to vary the style 14, 18 *śocatā ... dīyate śatrave yathā*, cp. 16 active voice, etc. 5, 31, where the ag. is added, the patiens is emphasized or, rather, it is the thema of the sentence. *yathauṣadhair hastagataiḥ savidyo na daśyate kaścana pannagena tathānapekṣo ... na d. śokabhujaṅgamena*, we too usually say: "hij is door een slang gebeten, he is bitten by a snake", and not "een slang heeft hem gebeten", unless the snake must be the thema. The constr. *na śakyate* + inf. occurs 15, 61. So, 4 times the ag. is added. The pass. aorist is found 9 × in the verses 2, 40-44 which are constructed in an artificial manner, cp. 42 *na tenābhedi māryādā kāmād ... tena satsv api bhogeṣu nāsevīndriyavṛttitā* "he never offended against the rules ..., he did not indulge his senses"; the last time only the agens has been suppressed. It is well known that Aśvaghoṣa has a special liking for series of stanzas in which the same verbal category constantly occurs. The pass. perfect is used 1, 11 *śuśruve yatra nisvanaḥ*: Fr. *on*, "where the sounds were to be heard"; intr. 2, 8 *dadṛśe*; 11 *dadṛśire*; 4, 3

babhāṣe trividhena nāmnā "she bore three names" (2, 8 etc. pers. subj.). In these cantos I have found no form of the pass. imper.[88]. The participle in *-ya-* occurs 14 ×, as an attrib. + ag. 5, 4 ... *mahadbhiḥ ... saṃpūjya mānāya tathāgatāya kartuṃ praṇāmaṃ na śaśāka nandaḥ*; constr. *Roma capta*: 1, 11 *agnīnāṃ hūyamānānām ... nisvanaḥ* "the sound of the burning of oblations in the fires, the s. of the o. burning in the f."; 5, 41 intr. attrib. *sarvato veśmani dahyamāne* "a house everywhere in flames"; 8 × as an appos., after the verb only 6, 36 *dahyamānāḥ* (the waiting women) and 4, 44c, without an agens but clearly 'passive': 5, 40 *āropyamāṇasya tam eva mārgaṃ bhraṣṭasya sārthād iva sārthikasya*; 42; with a personal ag. 6, 49 *yuvatijanena sāntvyamānā*; pers. subj. and inanimate cause or agens 6, 10 *kāmena kopena ca dahyamānā*; 33; 10, 41 *manorathena jehrīyamāṇaḥ*; 4, 44 the form is used thrice in an artificial way: *sa kāmarāgeṇa nigṛhyamāṇo dharmānurāgena ca kṛṣyamāṇaḥ | jagāma duḥkhena nivartyamānaḥ* ... Loc. absol. 5, 52 'pass.' without an ag. *pravāsyamāneṣu śiroruheṣu*. So, 3 × the 'patiens' is inanimate.

Meghadūta of Kālidāsa.

The v. adj. acts 18-19 × as pred.: 12-13 trans., 6 intrans., 4 a pers. subj., 13-14 an inanimate subj., 1 neutr., 2 × the verbs *as-* or *bhū-* are added, 4 × the v. adj. is attended by an instr. caus. or instr., 5-6 × by an instr. ag. This form is expressive of a condition, a quality, a state etc.: 16 *tvayy āyattaṃ kṛṣiphalam*, 75 *raktāśokaḥ ... kesaraś ca ... pratyāsannau* + gen.; 58; of a condition brought about by a preceding action: 71 *ārambhaḥ vibhramair ... siddhaḥ*; cp. 105. An interesting instance is 72 *yasyopānte ... kāntayā vardhito me ... °namito bālamandāravṛkṣaḥ*, app. expressing att. circ. or particulars or pred. expressing a condition resultant on an action which has not yet lost its actuality? The v. adj. expresses actuality: 6; 30; 65 *nītā* at the beginning, vividly; 85; 90; 104; cp. 105 *cetaḥ ... kṛtam aśaraṇaṃ* + instr. caus.; 108d; 110; elsewhere the v. adj. denotes a past fact which is distinctly present to the mind of the person speaking: 108 I *tvam api ... kim api rudatī ... viprabuddhā*; c *kathitam ... pṛcchataś ca tvayā me*; 88c; 27d *vañcito 'si* expresses 'future actuality': "you will be deceived": an instance of the 'fait-accompli-Darstellung' which made Spitzer[89] remark that the person speaking "unter dem

[88] It is used in courteous speech to an inferior: Bc. 3, 47 the person speaking is included; 62, to a superior: 4, 31; variation: 46 ff., impers. 92.

[89] L. Spitzer, Stilstudien I, p. 258. See also my paper 'De Javaanse *den*-vormen', Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, vol. 103, p. 283 sqq.

Eindruck seiner Erregung mit seiner Phantasie vorauseilt, erst zu erwartende oder mögliche Ereignisse antizipiert, die Grenzen zwischen Gedachtem und Geschehenem einreisst und Definitives, Unausweichliches ausdrückt wo er in Wirklichkeit noch weit vom fait-accompli entfernt ist". The v. adj. is found in a relative sentence: 85; 88; 104.

Loc. absol.: 10 instances, 6 intr., 4 trans., 6 inanimate subj., 3 animate subj., 1 neutr.

The v. adj. is used as an apposition etc.: 20 instances: 10 trans., 8 intr., 2 ifc., 13 × animate subject (the cloud included), 6 × inan., 1 × an animal; an instr. rei occurs 73, 76, 93, an instr. ag. 76; a verb. adj. with the prefix *a-* 98, an intrans. v. adj. followed by *san* 26 *viśrāntaḥ san vraja* ...; an appos. to an acc. 8, 55, 89, to an acc., i f c. 89, to a gen., ifc. 67, constr. *jātaṃ vaṃśe* ... *jānāni tvām.* The v. adj. follows the verb or pred. 98, 110, 73, 76. The adv. *drutam* is found 22.

The v. adj. is used ifc. attrib. 6, 93; i i c. 55 etc.

I have found 6 gerundives: 5 trans., 1 intrans.; instr. ag. 29, 39, 85; 7 *gantavyā te*; 34 *sthātavyaṃ te* (neutr.), instr. rei 77; 5 × an inanimate patiens, 1 × neutr.; moreover, *geyam* (subst.) 83. The ger. is expressive of the future or a possibility 77 *lakṣaṇair lakṣaṇīyam* ... *bhavanam.* Besides, a ger. acts as an appos. 100 *locanānām agamyaḥ*; i f c. 2, 70, 74 °*prekṣaṇīya-*.

There are 4 pers. forms in *-ya-*: 70 and 102 with instr. rei *asrais tāvan* ... *dṛṣṭir ālipyate me*; 2 × instr. ag.: 56 (where the pass. voice seems to be due to a tendency to vary the style) *tripuravijayo gīyate kiṃnarībhiḥ,* cp. also 70 *mārgaḥ* ... *sūcyate* and 104 *āliṅgyante* ... *mayā te.* The part. pr. pass. is met with 5 times; always as an appos. + instr. ag. or instr. rei, the patiens is an inanimate object or the cloud.

Raghuvaṃśa of Kālidāsa, c. 1, 3, 5, 15, 16, 19.

I—The verbal adjective. Used as an attrib. e.g. 5, 39 *āptaḥ* ... *dūtaḥ*; 40 *ṛddhām* °*rājadhānīm*; 62 *janaḥ sametaḥ*; 63 °*puruṣaiḥ praṇataiḥ* etc. Used as predicate: 48 instances; 24 trans., 24 intrans., 19 an anim. subj., 29 an inanim. subj. (or animal); *as-* or *bhū-* added 4 ×, 5 × with instr. rei, 14 × with instr. ag. This form being practically a predicative adjective expresses a condition, a quality or property: 1, 28 *dveṣyo 'pi saṃmataḥ śiṣṭaḥ* "a correct man, though unfriendly, was acceptable"; 60; 3, 40; 49; 15, 72; 18 *nātiparyāptam*; it represents a tenseless verbal form, a 'timeless present': 5, 71 *yāvat* ... *ākramate na bhānur* ... *tāvad aruṇena tamo nirastam*; it expresses

an actuality, the actual past 16, 76 (2 ×); 5, 66 *rātrir gatā*; 15, 43; 16, 14; 63; 10; 1, 87 (the v. adj. is placed at the beginning); 3, 48; 5, 14; 24; it expresses the past: 1, 12 *tadanvaye ... prasūtaḥ śuddhimattaraḥ*; 14 *sthitaḥ ... krāntvā*; 27; 36; 3, 40; 61 (in a vivid description); 15, 46; 76 *upasthitaḥ* ("on vit alors ... saluer" Renou); 'dramatical present' 3, 45 *sa cet svayam ... tvam antarāyo bhavasi cyuto vidhiḥ* "but if you yourself stand in the way..., all ceremonies must be at an end!". With an instr. ag.: actuality etc. 3, 50; 63 (intensifying?) *na me tvad anyena visoḍham āyudham*; 5, 4 *tvayā jñānam ... āptam* "you have acquired"; 21; 33; 66; 16, 76; the past: 1, 78 *sa śāpo na tvayā ... śrutaḥ* (here there is also actuality); 16, 19; the past: 5, 39; 16, 52; the remote past: 19, 3. With an instr. rei: 5, 11 *tṛpta-* (condition); 16, 59 II (act. past); I (in a relat. sent., remote past); 19, 7 and 56 (narrative past). With *as-* it expresses the act. past.: 5, 11 *prāpto 'si* "you have come"; 15, 18 *tvam asi dhātrā ... upapāditaḥ*; the past in a communication: 5, 20 *mayā maharṣir vijñāpito 'bhūt,* and, 1, 75, after *purā*: *p. āsīt ... āśritā.* When expressing the actual past (actuality) the v. adj. finds itself in an oratio directa. When there is an agens, the ag. as a rule precedes the v. adj., while the pat. may be found everywhere; 16, 19, however, which is a rel. sent., the ag. is put after the v. adj. The loc. abs. is met with 1, 87 after the verb, 5, 71 before the verb, 3, 18 and 16, 87 bef. + ag., 15, 82 it is 'impersonal' (neutral) + ag.

The acc. c. v. adj. construction is found 5, 29 *vṛṣṭiṃ śaśaṃsuḥ patitām*; 16, 24; 80 etc.

When acting as an apposition etc., the trans. v. adj. (± 50 inst.), is very often attended by an instr. ag. (21 ×) or another instr. (causae etc., 12 ×); there are 24 intrans. Particulars are of little interest. Adverbs are scarce. There are a good many instances of a ppp. iic., imc., ifc.

II—Gerundives: 17 occurrences; attrib. 4, pred. without *as-* or *bhū-* 6, pred. with *as-* or *bhū-* 5 (1, 16; 16; 16; 3, 6; 16; 15, 43), constr. *amocyam aśvaṃ yadi manyase* 3, 65, app. 1, 11; gen. ag. 1, 11; 3, 6; 5, 50; instr. ag. 5, 18; 7 × the 'patiens' is a person, 7 × an inanimate thing, 2 × an animal. Besides, rather often i i c., i m c., i f c. 1, 20; subst. 1, 28; 5, 34.

III—There are 26 occurrences of pers. forms of the pres. in *-ya-* (20 indic., 4 imperf., 2 imper.); indic.: an inanimate thing is 'patiens' 4 × a person, 8 × an instr. ag. is added, 5 × another instr. The indic. form expresses an intrans.: 1, 10 *hemnaḥ saṃlakṣyate hy agnau vi-*

śuddhiḥ "appears, comes to light"; 16, 7; 1, 70 *dūyase* "to endure affliction"; 16, 21; 1, 27 *mucye* "to become free" (*mukto bhavāmi,* Mall.); 5, 69 *saṃsṛjyate sarasijaiḥ* "comes in contact with lotusflowers" (*saṃgacchate,* Mall.); + part. praes. pass. 16, 62 *śīryamāṇaḥ saṃlakṣyate*; a fr. *on*-form 19, 49 *nivāryate*; a passive: sometimes the author emphasizes the patiens: 19, 24 *mayā ... bhāgyam api tasya kāṅkṣyate* (*kāṅkṣati no manaḥ,* Mall.); the same 3, 44 *makhāṃśabhājām prathamo manīṣibhis tvam eva devendra sadā nigadyase,* but the use of the pass. produces also rhyme; also 16, 15?; 12 the road mentioned in the first half of the stanza is thema of the sentence which fills up the second half: *sa vāhyate ... śivābhiḥ*; 3, 62 *padaṃ hi sarvatra guṇair vidhīyate* (adage, perhaps the passive voice emphasizes the universality) "virtues set footstep everywhere"; sometimes the active might be expected: 1, 67 *payaḥ pūrvaiḥ ... upabhujyate*; 5, 9 (probably on account of a tendency to variation); 16, 19 is an intrans. attended by an instr. expressing the agens: *vānarais tāḥ kliśyante.* The *-ya*-form of the causative represents a passive: 5, 5 (+ instr. caus.); 8 (the same, why used?); 16, 20 the *-ya*-form accompanied by an instr. may be considered as passive: *tiraskriyante kṛmitantujālaiḥ ... gavākṣāḥ*; cp. 1, 61 *mantraiḥ ... pratyādiśanta iva ... śarāḥ.* The imperf. is intrans.: 3, 2 *alakṣyata*; 24 *paryacīyata* "increased" (*vavṛdhe,* Mall.); 34 *adṛśyata*; 15, 77 may be considered as an 'agentless pass.': *anvamīyata śuddheti* "it was inferred...". The imper. is a courteous form: 3, 65 *yujyatām*; 66 *vidhīyatām.* The part. in *-ya-* is used as an appos. to an acc. 1, 39, to a gen. 1, 69; 15, 27; to an abl. 16, 79; to a nom. 1, 38; 16, 27; 58; 64; 5 it is attended by an instr., 5 an inanimate 'patiens', 3 a person. It forms part of the predicate 16, 62 *śīryamāṇaḥ saṃlakṣyate na ... hāraḥ.* It appears i i c. 3, 7; 59. I have found no aorists, but there is a rather considerable number of perfects: the passive character is evident 15, 100 *tena ... cakre tridivaniḥśreṇiḥ sarayūḥ* (why pass.?); 3, 35; 19, 16 (artificial, why pass.?); 18 *tena ... śuśruve ... vacaḥ* (artificial); intrans. 5, 27 *na jaghne* "met no impediment" + abl. "by virtue of ..."; 3, 40 *dadṛśe* "appeared"; 15, 54 *saṃyuyuje* + instr. soc. "joined" (*saṃgataḥ,* Mall.), the form must be considered as passive because the present is *saṃyujyate,* e.g. Manu 9, 22; *pipriye* (19, 30) is intrans.; 3, 20 *svayam mumuce ... bandhanāt,* here Mallinātha remarks *karmakartari liṭ* "reflexive perf.".

Kirātārjunīya of Bhāravi, c. 7-9.

I—The verbal adjectives. In these 175 stanzas the attributives are

rather rare: 7, 4; 13; 19; 28; 33; 8, 9; 23; 34; 36; 9, 22; 46; 48; 53; 75; 78; i f c. 9, 6 *saudhajālapatitā ravibhāsaḥ;* + instr. 9, 9. Substantivized v. adj. are very numerous: 7, 5 *kāntā-*; 10; 15; 39 *bṛṃhitāni*; 8, 8 *dayita-*; 14; 50; 29 *gataiḥ*; 46 *īhitaiḥ*; 9, 17 *cūrṇa°*; 20 *dhvāntam*; 37; 37 *skhalitam*; 38; 41; 46; 50 *sītkṛtāni*; 52; 58; 59; 62; 67 *vrīḍitasya* (: *vrīḍāyāḥ* Mall.); 68; 71 *viviktam*; 71; 73. The words *kāntă-* and *dăyitā-* however, occur many times. An abstract noun derived from a ppp. 8, 17; 9, 64. The v. adjs. are rarely used as predicate of a nominal sentence: 9, 15 in a series of short sentences: *rañjitā nu vividhās taruśailā nāmitaṃ nu gaganaṃ sthagitaṃ nu | puritā nu viṣameṣu dharitrī saṃhṛtā nu kakubhas timireṇa*; in the same way 25; the v. adjs. describe a state of affairs in the past as a part of a narrative; 37 it expresses the narrative past: *kāntaveśma ... yātam ... ramaṇībhiḥ*; 49; 66 *vrīḍayā ... na sthitaṃ na vigataṃ hṛdayeṣu* (an artificial turn). *na yuktam* 40. In the whole of the poem this form occurs 78 × (22 × in the narrative; 56 × or. dir.; 4 × *as-* or *bhū-*). The loc. abs. is found 8, 29; 38 etc. (± 6 instances). The acc. part. constr. occurs 7, 23 (+ *iva*). There are about 60 occurrences of the v. adj. used to express attendant circumstances etc.; they are often accompanied by an instr. ag. Adverbs are rare: 7, 4; 9, 58; 63. There is an exceedingly high number of v. adj. i i c.; 145, as a poet of kāvya the author has a special liking for bahuvrīhi-compounds; imc. ± 55, ifc. ± 35. Not rarely a v. adj. i i c. is accompanied by an instr., e.g. 9, 37 II *manmathena pariluptamatīnāṃ prāyaśaḥ skhalitam apy upakāri.* Gerundives are not frequent: pred. 9, 30 *asahyam*; 39 *anuneyaḥ* (short sentences); (+ *asti* 13, 7; neutr. 13, 46); appos. 8, 34; attrib. 48 *sakhīṣu nirvācyam °saṃśleṣam*; subst. 7, 29 *sevya-* (: *prabhu-* Mall.); 39 *vacanīyam*; a *-tā*-stem built on a ger.: 8, 39 *śocanīyatā-*; 45 *vilokanīyatā-*; 47 *tulyatā-*; 9, 78; ifc. 8, 4 *karapraceya-*, cf. 9, 78a.

The pass. present-stem is rarely met with: in a short sentence expressing an opinion of the author or stating a truth 9, 13 *laṅghyate na khalu kālaniyogaḥ*; + instr. ag. 58 *prāpyate guṇavatāpi guṇānāṃ vyaktam āśrayavaśena viśeṣaḥ*; stating a fact, intr. 13, 39 *dṛśyate*; 42 *smaryate ... nṛbhiḥ* "... gilt bei den ... Männern", Cappeller; 48 *ucyate* (*svaguṇaḥ*) "one mentions his own merits", the subj. is known; neutral, with a periphrasis: 54 *bhavatā tapasyate*; the agens remains in the background: 58 *nābhiyoktum anṛtaṃ tvam iṣyase* (viz. *asmābhiḥ*); 62 *gīyate* ± "es gibt ..." (C.); so, the indic. pr. pass. is more frequent in oratio directa; the same + *sma* and instr., narrative past: 9, 14 *nīyate sma*; 53; 7, 6. The imp. pass. is used for the sake of varying

the style 8, 8 *jahīhi kopaṃ dayito 'nugamyatām*; 9, 39 (; 13, 70, cf. 71; not in this manner 12, 36). The part. in *-ya-*, attended by an instr. ag. or caus., is found 8, 13; 55; 9, 20; intrans. 9, 31. In the narrative portions of this text the pass. perfect is extremely frequent: in c. 7-9 there are 31 instances, amongst which 28 are accompanied by an instr. ag., which is, however, often an inanimate object conceived as a person; 2 × a person, 29 × an inanimate thing is patiens. The chief reasons why this form has been employed seem to be the desire to vary the style of writing and the custom of the poets of kāvya to show their learning. Generally, perf. act. or med., present-forms with *sma* alternate with these passive perfects. More than once highly unnatural turns of expression are the outcome of the author's wish to combine the use of the narrative perfect with the avoidance of monotony and series of stanzas constructed upon the same scheme. See 7, 2 *nāsede caritaguṇatvam ātapatraiḥ*; 4; 7 *gandharvaiḥ* ... *pratīye* ... *vicitratā vidhātuḥ*; 17; 22 *mayūraiḥ* ... *dhvanir upaśuśruve*; 34 *nāceme* ... *vāri vāraṇena*; 37; 8, 4 *puro 'bhisasre*... °*janaiḥ*; 6 °*yaṣṭiḥ* ... *dadṛśe vadhūjanaiḥ*; 16 *nunude* ... *kaścij jaghanena kāntayā*; 18; 30 *āpaḥ* ... °*janaiḥ* ... *prapedire*; 32; 40; 43; 9, 6; 10 *saṃdhyayānuvidadhe* ... °*maitrī*; 12; 29; 30; 32; 34; 36; 40; 48; 54; 56 *ādade* ... *utpalaiḥ* ... *kampaḥ*; 58. Intrans. or Fr. *on*: 9, 12 *upalebhe* "es war zu merken"; 42; 63 *dadṛśe*. [13, 51 there is an instance of the aor. pass. *bhavatā nirāsi mā* ... *kṛtajñatā*, which represents a quite uncommon expression; 54 the fut. *prāpsyate* ... *phalaṃ tvayā*].

In the whole of the poem 101 instances of the perf. pass. are to be found [90]. The other middle forms are not used in a passive sense.

Kathāsaritsāgara 75, 21 sqq.; 76; 77; 83; 86; 87; 88; 98; 99, 1-41 (= *Vetālapañcaviṃśatikā* Introd., 1th, 2d, 3d, 9th, 12th, 13th, 14th, 24th, 25th story).

The verbal adjective does not often act as an attribute: 86, 62 *tāṃ daṣṭāṃ divyakanyakām*; 93 *samṛddhe 'pi pure*; 87, 31 *hṛdayaiḥ sphuṭitaiḥ*; 98, 8 *milita-* etc. (± 14 cases, besides ± 8 i f c., e.g. 86, 66 *tvaduktena pathā*; 96 *svepsitām aṅganām*; 75, 118 *hastiruddhena* ... *pathā*; 76, 21 *paṭhitasiddhasya mantrasya*). Subst. are rare: 75, 123 *iṣṭam*; 12, 103 *āptād*; cf. also 137. Verbal adjectives serving as predicates: without *as-* or *bhū-*, trans., agentless: 9 instances, always in or. dir.: actual past: 75, 47 *rājan kṛtaḥ prasādaś cet*; 81a *nyastaṃ yad*

[90] See C. Cappeller, Bhāravi's poem Kirātārjunīya (H.O.S., 15, 1912), p. 180 ff.

utpalaṃ karṇe (*tayā*, the ag. is found 80d and 81b); 82; 105; 137; 77, 33; timeless: 76, 39 *sa suto mataḥ*; 77, 42 *ayaṃ muktaś cauraiḥ* (instr. soc.), etc. With an agens: (62, 20 p., 38 th., 4 n.) actual past in or. dir.; 75, 28 and 29 *mayā yāni nityaṃ phalāni te* || *haste dattāni tāni kva sthāpitāni sadā tvayā*; 30; 80; 80; 81; 82; 83; 98; 98; 100; 101; 104; 111; 113; 114; (114); 123; 135; 136; 136; 137; 148; 165; 169; 170; 174; 176; 177; 180; 76, 35; 40; 77, 34; 71; 83, 47; 59; 61; 61; 75; 82; 88, 35; 98, 31; 68; 73; 99, 6; 32; the narrative past: 77, 50 *sā ca tena* ... *dattā* ... *vaṇikputrāya*; 83, 6; 45; 56; 79; 13, 51; the remote past: 75, 140 *śaśaṃsa ca kathāmadhye tat tasmai yat* ... °*kathanaṃ kṛtaṃ tena* "... that he had made mention of ..."; 77, 40; adject. (timeless) 86, 19 *dharmo hi prepsitaḥ sa me*; + gen. 75, 86 *viditaṃ mama*; 98, 72 *yā tasya vāñchitā*. Intrans. (25 instances, 21 p., 4 th., always in or. dir.): actual past in or. dir.: 75, 46 *eṣo 'ham āgato bhikṣo*; 98; 102; 111; 76, 4; 77, 60; 61; 86, 83; 107; 87, 11; 98, 43; the narrative past: 86, 142; 143; adject. (timeless) 75, 48 *tasminn ullambitamṛtaḥ ko 'py ekaḥ puruṣaḥ sthitaḥ* "finds himself"; 113 *rajasvalā niśās tisraḥ sthitāham* "I find myself in my monthly periods"; 132; 12, 33; 160; 161; 87, 11; 99, 23; 23; the past 75, 193; + instr. caus. 98, 66 *tadāścaryeṇa dhairyeṇa tuṣṭo 'ham*. A verb. adj. + *as-* or *bhū-* and instr. ag. is found 8 × (7 pers., 7 or. dir.): act. past: 75, 94 *dhātrī tasyāsmi sthāpitā tena*; 77, 33; 65; 87, 14; 99, 22; the narrative past 98, 8 *unmūlito 'bhūt* ... *rāṣṭrabhedibhiḥ*; cf. 99, 33; with a gen.: the past: 99, 21 *bhikṣor āsīd yad īpsitam*.

Without an (instr.) ag.: 86, 67 *śāpito 'si mamāsubhiḥ*; 98, 33, cf. Pet. Wtb., 7, 61 "in dieser Bedeutung nur das partic. pass. *śāpita-* zu belegen"; 99, 25 *sarvāḥ khyātā bhavantu*.

An intrans. v. adj. + *as-* or *bhū-*: (13 pers., 7 or. dir.): the actual past: 76, 20; 77, 34 *prāptāsmīha*; 86, 101; 87, 22; 88, 59; 98, 42; the narrative past: 77, 63 *gatvā bāhyaṃ praviṣṭābhūd udyānam* ... *tatrāpaśyac ca* ...; 95 *skandhāt sa tasya* ... *naṣṭo 'bhūt*; 76, 17 *pravṛtto 'bhūt praroditum*; the remote past in a narrative: 76, 27 *dadarśa cātra taṃ* ... *yaḥ sa* ... *gato 'bhavat*. The v. adj. is a timeless adject.: 86, 134 *āsīt kruddhas tu māṃ prati*; 88, 2 *śrānto 'si*; 46.

Locat. abs. with intrans. v. adj. are, comparatively speaking, numerous: ± 20 cases; the pers. subj. is a little more frequent than the inan. subj., locat. abs. with trans. v. adj. are rare: 77, 82; 75, 191 *haṃsair jagdheṣu śāliṣu;* 196, (cf. 77, 78 appos.); an impers. loc. abs. + instr. is not unfrequent, but only *udite* and *ukte* are met with: 75, 39 *kariṣyāmīty ukte tena mahībhujā*; 77, 46 *iti śārikayodite*.

In the acc. c. part. constr. (e.g. 12, 86, but not very frequent) the acc. is sometimes accompanied by an instr. ag.: 75, 182 *upāyaṃ mantriputreṇa taṃ saṃbhāvya tathā kṛtam*; 185 *tāṃ kravyādair bhakṣitāṃ sutāṃ matvā*; 86, 140; cf. also 77, 64, where the instr. ag. must be connected with an appos.

'Impersonal' v. adj.: 86, 15 *videśaṃ te gantuṃ yuktam*; 87, 21 *iha sthitam iha snātaṃ ... vihṛtaṃ ca tayātreti*; the same with an instr. ag.: 88, 58 *caureṇa ... ruditaṃ hasitaṃ ca kiṃ tena*; 59; 75, 83.

Adverbs are rare, e.g. 86, 45; 87, 27 etc.

Among the verbal adjectives which express attendant circumstances or act as appositions etc. (e.g. 75, 31; 76, 108) there are a good many that are accompanied by an instr. ag.: 75, 67 *so 'nvito mantriputreṇa*; 75; 80 *ity ukto rājaputreṇa* (a very usual formula); 87; 125; 126; 127 *dāsībhiḥ ... rajjūtkṣiptaḥ*; 166; 77, 7; 32; 56; 57; 98, 14; 99, 25 etc.; by an instr. rei: 86, 42; 73; 89; 99, 3 etc.; an abl. 14, 56 *cauryān nivṛttaḥ*. Gerundives (24 instances, 12 p., 10 th., 2 n.). Predic.: 77, 83; 83, 33 *kasmai deyā*; 36; 38; with instr. ag.: 75, 138 *mayā °samācāraḥ kartavyaḥ*; 75, 190; 83, 18; 86, 14; 65; 66 *nivāraṇīyo nāhaṃ te nānugamyaś ca*; 98, 70; 86, 80; neutral or 'impersonal': 86, 146 *saptāhāni na gantavyaṃ prasīda sumukhi tvayā*; 75, 38; with gen. ag.: 75, 177 *sā ... vikreyā mama vartate*; 159; (subst.) 87, 23 *aprāpyaṃ nāma nehāsti dhīrasya*; with *bhū-* or *as-*: 99, 27 *pūjyā ... bhaviṣyati*; 75, 112 + i. ag.; appos. 88, 45; *na śakya-*: 86, 45; 79; loc. abs. with a ger. 98, 8 *pradeyāyāṃ ca tasyāṃ*.

The present-stem in *-ya-*. The indic. without instr. ag. occurs ± 17 × (8 p.): intrans.: 75, 47 *vidyate* "there is"; 86, 112; 76, 40 *ucyate*; 86, 50 *dṛśyate*; 159 *dṛśyase* "you look"; 83, 36 *tat kvopayujyate* "is useful"; 86, 168 *naitat ... yujyate*; to avoid a form of the 1st pers. sg.: 77, 44 *kathoparodhataḥ śāntam avācyam api kathyate*. The agens, left unexpressed, is "they", Dutch *ze*, viz. they that are charged with a certain task, they that usually perform a certain action etc.: 88, 35 *vadhāya nīyate yo 'yam*. The *-ya-* form expresses a certain vagueness: 75, 79 *yasyā na nāma ... avabudhyate sā kathaṃ prāpyate...*; 83, 35 *śūdrāya ... ksatriyā dīyate katham* "how is it possible to give..." Fr. *on* 86, 21. The *-ya-* form is accompanied by an instr. ag.: 88, 12 *lakṣyante te ca nāsmabhiḥ*; 87, 22 *kim ātmaivaṃ hanyate tvayā* (is the pat. emphasized?); 88, 12 the *-ya-* form lays stress upon the condition resultant on the action of the agens *nityaṃ muṣyāmahe cauraiḥ* "we constantly fall victims to thieves", the citizens do not know who are the thieves; 17 I after having seen a certain man the king says *ayaṃ*

sa nūnaṃ cauro me muṣṇāti; cp. also 99, 7 *parārtho yena sādhyate*; 8
Imperf. intr. 87, 50 *prāṇair vyayujyata*; 'agentless passive' 88, 14
purī sāmuṣyataiva ca; the constr. of the sentence (the patiens is thema)
has exerted influence: 77, 41 *tatas ... tatra nirbhayaḥ ... praviṣṭaḥ*
śvaśurābhyāṃ sa harṣād dṛṣṭvābhyanandyata. The original intransitives are used in the same way: 98, 46 *dūyate hṛdayaṃ hi naḥ*; 86, 109
tathārajyata sā rājñā vacobhiḥ. Imper. pass.: 76, 29; 77, 27; 47; 85
83, 25; 26; 35. In general, these imperatives are more or less courteous
once we find an instr. ag. added, a turn which appears to be ceremonious: 5, 28 *tad eṣā tanayā rājaṃs tvayā mahyaṃ vitīryatām.* Partic
pres. pass. app.: 76, 18; 77, 78; 88, 33 ("while being led away"
Dutch "terwijl men (ze) hem wegbracht(en)"); instr. ag.: 75, 181
87, 20 *svajanaiḥ sāntvyamano 'pi*; 44; 56; 88, 11; 40; 41; acc. c. part
constr. 75, 36 *sāhāyyaṃ kriyamāṇaṃ tvayārthaye.* Fut. pass. 99, 29
yatraiṣā kīrtayiṣyate "where this (work) will be recited". Aor. pass.,
instr.: 75, 185 *vyapādi śokena*; 77, 29; 76, 6 *ajani*; 83, 12 + instr.
ag., pass.: 83, 2 *tena ... abhyadhāyi saḥ* (the subj. of this sentence is
the same as in 1); still more artificial is 13 *ity anaṅgaratir nāmnā
pitrā tena vyadhāyi sā.* Perf. pass., intr.: 75, 152 °*janāravaḥ ... śuśruve*; 87, 31 *dadṛśire*; instr. ag.: 75, 68 *tena ...kanyā dadṛśe* (variation: 67 *apaśyat*, 70 *jahāra*); 167 *tathābhūtaś ca jagṛhe sa dṛṣṭvā
purarakṣibhiḥ* (*sa* is thema, and by putting *t.* at the head of the line,
the author dwells upon the thema); 168 *ninye ca* (the same constr. is
continued); cp. 77, 57 II; 80; why pass. 77, 42 *mahotsavas tena ...
cakre*? Total amount of the personal forms and the p. pr.: 32 p., 2c
inan., 2 anim.

III—CONCLUSIONS AND ADDITIONAL REMARKS

We now come to the following discussions and conclusions. First the
term *passive* is, in my opinion, not adequate[91]. As to the *-yá*-present,
in Vedic prose this category is in most cases, and often almost exclusively, used in a way which for the sake of brevity I have hitherto
called 'intransitive': the verb is used without an object, and it would
be impossible to add such an element: *ricyáte, mucyáte* etc. The num-

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[91] Apart from the fact that the term 'passive' should not suggest the notion
of suffering or enduring, I refer to E. Schwyzer, Zum persönlichen Agens beim
Passiv ..., Abh. Preuss. Akad., 1942, 10, p. 10.

ber of roots forming a *-ya*-present is rather restricted. Nearly always the processes denoted by these forms bear upon movements, experiences, transformations with reference to a state or condition which the subject experiences, reactions of the subject etc. These processes may affect the subject in the core, in the very essence of his personality or only concern it in its periphery; "es geht etwas mit dem Subjekt vor" [92]. Some scholars are perhaps inclined to speak of 'medial sense'. The use of this term, however, involves risk [93]: the formal category called 'middle voice' has no separate, well-defined, uniform, clean-cut idea and function of its own [94]. But the use of the middle endings, prescribed for the 'passive' by the grammarians, is not a matter of chance [95]. Nor will the term 'impersonal' do, because we usually mean by it a verb which is always put in the 'third person' [96], granted that a considerable number of the *´-ya*-presents, which are nearly related to the *-yá*-forms, may easily be translated by impersonal constructions: *tṛ́ṣyati*: Old Dutch *mij dorst* etc. I feel inclined to avoid the term 'reflexive', which some people will use in special cases, because we may safely speak of a reflexive verb only in those cases in which the object of the verb is a reflexive pronoun. Moreover, the starting-point of the process expressed by the *-yá*-form, is, as a rule, not the subject: we have to be mindful of the difference between such expressions as the Eng. *I pride myself*; the Fr. *je me baigne*, which are reflexives, and Skt. *avaśiṣyate* "he remains, he is left" [97].

As a rule, the starting-point of the process is not expressed. One might, perhaps, suppose that this starting-point is the 'verbal notion' (Verbalbegriff) which is neither expressed nor present in the author's mind: such a supposition would call into being a hypothetical parallel

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[92] Cf. also A. Niederstenbruch, Das Verhältnis von Passiv, on und passivisch gebrauchtem Reflexiv im Französischen, Diss. Bonn, 1927, p. 13.

[93] I refer to O. Jespersen, The philosophy of grammar, p. 168.

[94] See also Joh. Wilde, Die passivischen und medialen Ausdrucksweisen objektiven Geschehens, Diss. Leipzig 1913, p. 36 ff.

[95] Yet, the so-called passive, even in the earlier language, occasionally assumes active endings, in the epics, where several forms may be explained as active forms of the fourth class (see also A. Holtzmann, Grammatisches aus dem Mahābhārata, Leipzig 1884, § 774), these endings are not rare, in the Prākrits they are normal. There seems to be no reason to doubt that they occurred from the beginning (as one might say), leaning on the intransitive verbs.

[96] However strange it may be to an unsophisticated mind to be taught so; see Jespersen, o.c., p. 212.

[97] I refer also to J. Vendryes, Le langage, p. 122; J. Wackernagel, Vorlesungen über Syntax, II[2] (1928), p. 90 ff.

to an active turn of the *rujati rogaḥ*-type ("the disease afflicts", see Pāṇ. 2, 3, 54). Suffice it to say that in many cases the starting-point is altogether out of the question and does not come into the mind of the author; the process is not brought on by an agens; but it occurs 'automatically', it happens, it comes to pass, that is all. In many modern languages, e.g. English, Dutch etc. an active verb must often be used: *avaśiṣyate* "he remains; hij blijft (achter, over)", in other languages the so-called objective middle voice [98] may serve as an equivalent: Lat. *labor, nascitur, videor.*

The use of the *-yá*-forms under discussion has been considered by Meillet [99] to be the "vrai rôle du passif": "La possibilité d'employer les verbes actifs absolument et le fait que les désinences moyennes soulignent au besoin cette valeur absolue ont dispensé l'indo-européen commun d'avoir un passif. On croit souvent que le passif est une forme du verbe où le sujet du verbe est indiqué comme subissant une action exercée par un agent: *Paul est battu par Pierre*; les expressions de ce genre se rencontrent en effet; mais ce sont des tours souvent artificiels, et en tout cas relativement rares. Le vrai rôle du passif est d'exprimer le procès la où l'agent n'est pas considéré. Le latin a *dicit* "il dit", quand on pense à quelqu'un qui parle, et, à côté, *dicitur* "il est dit", pour signifier "on dit". ...Si le passif n'était qu'un renversement de l'expression active, il serait au fond superflu. Ce qui donne au passif son utilité, c'est que, au lieu de présenter le procès comme résultant de l'intervention d'un agent, il le présente en lui-même, sans aucune notion étrangère".

I concur in Meillet's opinion, on the understanding that by 'passive' are meant the formal categories which are usually called 'passive' and that this function does not necessarily belong to a 'passive': it is often expressed by other categories, e.g. by an intransitive active [100]. The category under discussion has been called by Meyer-Lübke [101] 'Vorgangspassivum'. Wistrand [102] speaks of 'Sekundärhandlung': *arbor cadit* as distinct from *agricola caedit arborem* and *arbor caeditur ab*

[98] See Wilde, o.c., p. 37.
[99] A. Meillet, Linguistique historique et linguistique générale (1921), p. 195 f.
[100] E. Wistrand, Über das Passivum (Göteborgs kungl. Vet.- och Vitt.-Samh. Handl., 6, A 1 (1941)), p. 9 has given expression to the same criticism, as I see after having formulated my views.
[101] W. Meyer-Lübke, Die neueren Sprachen, 6. Beiheft (1925), p. 158 ff.
[102] Wistrand, o.c., p. 13.

agricola. I would suggest the term 'eventive'. At all events, the term 'passive' has, for clearness' sake, to be avoided [103].

In the other cases *-yá-* is added to roots denoting processes that are involuntarily supposed to be brought about by an agens, p.e. *hanyáte* "is killed". It is quite immaterial whether the agens is expressed or even known. In Dutch the same shade of meaning may be expressed by turns containing the particle *er*: *er wordt gebeld*: "there is a ring, there is the front-door bell": when there is a ring, we tacitly admit the presence or existence of somebody who has rung; but, as a rule, we do not know who is the agens; sometimes we leave the author out of account or avoid mentioning him. Thus, Sanskrit *kriyate* may be translated by "er wordt gemaakt, er wordt gebouwd" (cf., p.e., *er wordt een huis gebouwd*). In French the expression for the so-called 'generic person' [104] *on* may often be used to translate *kriyáte, hanyáte* etc.; it is worth mentioning that the *on*-turn is often chosen when one wants to emphasize the durative aspect of the verb, which is likewise expressed by the *-yá*-verbs [105].

In a book which has been published in 1941 Wistrand [106] has tried to establish the essential characteristics of the 'passive voice': "passive ist eine Verbform, wenn sie eine Handlung bezeichnet, die nicht vom Satzsubjekte ausgeführt wird sondern das Subjekt trifft, sodass das grammatische Subjekt in Wirklichkeit Objekt ist. Bei passiven Verba kann das logische Subjekt in Form eines Agens hinzugefügt werden, aber notwendig ist dies nicht .... Die Ursache dazu, dass ein Agens nicht ausgesetzt werden darf, kann nur eine sein, nämlich dass die Verbalhandlung als vom grammatischen Subjekt ausgehend aufgefasst wird, oder jedenfalls als ihren Mittelpunkt im Subjekt habend in solcher Weise, dass die Verbalhandlung von keinem anderen Ausgangspunkt herrühren kann." I am under the impression that this argument will not do. In adopting the views of Paul [107] Wistrand is in the wrong — he had done better to profit by the criticism of Jespersen, though this is, in general, too negative. I do not believe that in the

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[103] Alice Berger (who is a pupil of Gamillscheg and Wechssler), Der Ausdruck der passivischen Idee im Altfranzösischen, Diss. Berlin 1934, p. 2 says: "Passivische Idee ist also: die Auffassung oder Vorstellung eines Geschehens der Wirklichkeit als Handlung, die an einem Seienden vollzogen wird und deren Urheber vorstellbar sein muss".

[104] See Jespersen, o.c., p. 204; 215 ff.

[105] See A. J. Fehr, Medium-passivum, Amsterdam 1937, p. 23.

[106] Wistrand, o.c., p. 12.

[107] H. Paul, Prinzipien der Sprachgeschichte[4] (1909), p. 278.

types of sentences under discussion the "Verbalhandlung (I would prefer: the process) von keinem anderen Ausgangspunkt herrühren kann". Neither in a so-called 'eventive' turn, nor in the *hanyáte* type does the starting-point of the process lie in the subject. In the first case the starting-point is left out of account. In the *hanyáte* type it finds itself outside the subject: sometimes one wants to keep the agens in the background, sometimes one wants to suppress any word denoting the agens or one is not able to mention it; be that as it may, the subject is 'affected' by a process, of which the starting-point is found outside the subject itself. As distinct from the Dutch *de bel gaat* which is (or: may be) eventive (cf. *de kraan loopt, de pijp lekt* etc.), the turn *er wordt gebeld* is used when the speaker wants to denote a process, which is brought about by an agens, though this agens is N.N., "one", Dutch *men,* French *on* (*on sonne*). Perhaps the difference between Lat. *occĭdit* and *occīditur* may be described in the same way. Thus *occĭdit* = Skt. *náśyati, kṣīyate; occīditur* = Skt. *hanyáte.* It must, however, be granted, that cases are not rare in which the person using such forms as *hanyáte, kriyáte* does not knowingly think of a definite agens; if so, even the existence of an agens may be quite immaterial to him. It often depends on the idea expressed by the verb whether a *-yá*-present must be interpreted as an 'eventive' or as an 'agentless passive'.

The 'eventive' use, which, to a greater or less extent, prevails in Vedic prose, and the 'agentless passive' which in the ancient languages is well-known too, are also often to be found in younger texts [108]. In the Vedic metrical texts the eventive is far from being rarely used, in the Mahābhārata the so-called passive present is in the first case an 'eventive'; in Kāvya this use is found to a greater (e.g. Aśvaghoṣa) or less extent. This force came to be felt as passive only by expressing an agens and by contrast with active forms of transitive meaning.

To my mind, in a real passive turn the agens is expressed. Consequently, in this particular Vedic prose is on a par with Arabic, Lettish etc., which do not allow the addition of an agens to the 'passive' [109]. It is true that in the prose of the Brāhmaṇas the *-ya*-forms may be attended by an instr. denoting accompanying circumstances

[108] See also L. Renou, Grammaire sanscrite, § 342.

[109] Cf. Wistrand, o.c., p. 12: "Wenn aber eine Sprache wie das Lettische oder Arabische das Hinzufügen eines Agens gar nicht erlaubt, kann das nur so gedeutet werden, dass diese Sprache kein voll ausgebildetes Passivum besitzt".

or the cause by which the action happens. But I have not found a real instr. agentis in the parts of Taitt. S., Śat. Br., and Jaim. Br. which I examined. In order to form an idea of the development of the 'complete passive turn' in post-Vedic literature I have compiled a statistical record; the numbers figuring in it are, however, like other numbers to follow, correct only by approximation: Pauṣya episode *-yá*-present without an agens expressed 2: complete pass. turn 1; Kālid. Śak. I and VI prose: 18 : 4; Daśakum. II, III, VIII: 11 : 3; Hitop. (20 pages): 17 : 5. In ślokas: Mahābh. Sāv.: 13 : 3; Nala (I-XIX): 13 : 3; Bhagavadg. ± 68 : 11; Mbh. V, a. 186-192: 4 : 0; in a number of texts selected from the Rām. the first turn is approximately 7 times as frequent as the complete pass. construction; Manu II: 32 : 0; Kūrmap. Īśvarag. 18 : 4. Consequently, in these texts the complete turn is found only in a minority of cases. In Kāvya texts the instr. ag. is used on a larger scale: Aśv. Saund. I-VI, X: 20 : 4; Kāl. Ragh. (6 cantos) 12 : 8; selections from Bhār. Kirāt.: 8 : 3; sel. from Śiśup. 6 : 7. It is an interesting fact that the whole of the Ṛgveda beside 191 *-yá*-forms without an agens expressed, contains about 15 examples of the complete turn. We may, in my opinion, easily conclude that, with regard to the use of the complete pass. constr., the stylistical factor is of greater moment than that of chronology. In the Vedic period the complete construction was really known, but it was, in a general sense, not used unless in a certain class of literary works, particularly in verse originating in environments where the art of making poetry followed a traditional technical practice and where poets consciously forged their stanzas and coined the expressions they used to make their work fit for the special ends they had in view. The fact that the complete passive turn is found in the Ṛgveda which is generally admitted to be the oldest collection of Indian literary productions, cannot, on the other hand, preclude us from considering the agentless construction or (let us be guarded in our statements!) the state of affairs found in the ancient prose texts and in the traditional language of the epic śloka, to be more original; in the first place because the complete construction, on the whole, is not much liked normal speech [110], and secondly because of the presumable origin of the *-yá*-present.

It is quite certain that the *-yá*-present had this 'original' function already in the Indo-Iranian period: it occurs in both Avestan [111] and

[110] See above p. 4 ff.

[111] H. Reichelt, Awestisches Elementarbuch (1909), § 614-616.

Ancient Persian [112]. Cf. G. Y. Av. *bairyeinte* (Y. 32, 15): Ved. + *bhriyate*. According to Reichelt, in the Avesta 38 examples are found (of which some are uncertain), the verb *zan-* "be born" (*us.zayata* etc.) included, which corresponds with Skt. *jāyate* IV [113]. Sometimes the Avestan *-ya*-present expresses an event (Vorgang): G. *sruyē* "I obtain hearing" (Y. 33, 7); Y. *pairyete* "es wird verglichen"; the 'agentless passive' is, comparatively speaking, often found: Y. *kiryeiti* (∞ Ved. + *kriyáte*) "is executed etc."; Y. *avi* ... *χvairyeite* "is eaten" (V. 2, 26); etc. The middle present and the *-ya*-forms of the verb *vaz-* may be used intransitively: "to drive, go or travel by any vehicle; fly; succeed etc." (cf. Lat. *vehor*), now, Yt. 14, 43 it reads: *yat* ... *vaštåŋhō ahmya nōit vazyånte jatåŋhō ahmya nōit janyånte*, which has been translated by Bartholomae [114]: „wenn ...wenn die erfolgreichen nicht weiter (zum endgiltigen Sieg) kommen, die geschlagenen keine (entgiltige) Niederlage erleiden" and bij Lommel [115] „... die vordringenden(?) dabei nicht vorankommen(?) und die geschlagenen dabei nicht unterliegen": the verbs are real eventives. Now and then the *-ya*-present is accompanied by an instr. denoting the means: V. 3, 9 *yat* ... *paiti* ... *daχma uzdaēza kiryeinte* "where burial-places are made by (means of) raising up (i.e. by heaping up earth)"; V. 4, 50 *ayaŋhaēnāiš karətāiš azdibīš paiti ava.kərəθyāt* "with iron knives he must be cut down to the bones" [116]; Yt. 8, 11 etc. *yeδi zī mā mašyāka* ...*yasna yazayanta yaθa anye yazatåŋhō* ... *yasna yazinti*; 23 etc.; an instr. denoting the person by whose influence, assistance etc. the process takes place [117]: Yt. 1, 29 *spəntayå ārmatōiš dōiθrābya avāstryata mairyo* "durch die Augen (Blicke) der heiligen Frommergebenheit wurde der Schurke niedergestreckt" [118]. Yt. 13, 91 we find a loc. + *paiti* denoting the person by whom a holy text is heard: *zaraθuštrahe* ...*yahmi paiti* ... *ašəm.sravō vīsruyata* "Z. ..., to whose ears came the ašəm word"; the verb *vīsruyata* has no passive function. According

[112] A. Meillet-E. Benveniste, Grammaire du vieux-perse² (1931), § 195.
[113] See further on.
[114] Chr. Bartholomae, Altiranisches Wörterbuch (1904), 1387.
[115] H. Lommel, Die Yäšt's des Awesta übersetzt usw. (1927), p. 140.
[116] Instr. respectus; I do not agree with Bartholomae, Wtb., 454, n. 3.
[117] The difference between this auctor and an agens is felt very well by the general public: the other day I heard two boys, about 15 years old, discussing the question, whether the cat had escaped because one of them had opened the door, or because the door was open through his fault or negligence, "if it had not been for you she wouldn't have run off".
[118] Lommel, o.c., p. 18

to Bartholomae and Reichelt[119] a gen. agentis is found Yt. 13, 50 *kahe nō iδa nąma āγairyāṯ kahe vō urva frāyezyāṯ* "von wem wird nun unser Name gepriesen etc.", Lommel[120], however, translates: "Wessen Namen aus unserer Mitte wird er anrufen", in my opinion, the verb is an 'agentless pass.' in as much as the agens (= "who?" which has to be taken from the preceding sentence) has been suppressed.

According to Meillet-Benveniste[121] there are, apart from the Old Pers. *-ya*-presents 'à valeur active', two forms denoting "l'état"[122]: *maniya-* (= Skt. *mányate*) "think"; *mariya-* (Skt. *mriyáte*) "to die". "A ce dernier groupe se rattachent les formations de présent passif, dont on a deux exemples sûrs, d'une même racine: *kariya* (cf. Skt. *kriyate*) ..., *kunavaya* ...". The first form, *akariyantā* (B. 3, 92)[123] is an 'agentless pass'. A propos of *akunavayatā* Meillet-Benveniste remarks: "Cette formation nouvelle atteste à la fois la vitalité du passif et...", but I prefer to adopt the opinion expressed by Bartholomae[124] and Schaeder[125] who consider this form (B. 1, 20; 24) as a middle present. Another 'Vorstufe' of a passive function is represented by *θahyāmahiy*[126] (B. 1, 7) "our name is", Dutch "wij heten", Fr. "nous nous appelons", which form, beside which the active *θātiy* "announce, speak" is found several times, has an eventive sense.

Consequently, in the ancient Iranian languages the eventive and agentless passive functions are in evidence. I have not found a passive turn containing an indisputable agens. It is, on the other hand, an interesting fact that there is a number of middle forms in the Avesta, which are without any doubt accompanied by an instr. agentis[127]. Are we allowed to conclude from these facts that the complete construction arose at an earlier moment when the verb was a middle form? Or is

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[119] Bartholomae, o.c., 512, ²gar-, n. 2; Reichelt, o.c., p. 259, n. 1.

[120] Lommel, o.c., p. 118.

[121] Meillet-Benveniste, o.c., § 193 ff.

[122] Ibidem, § 194: "Deux thèmes en *-ya-* appartiennent au groupe des présents en *-ya-* qui expriment l'état".

[123] See also W. Hinz, Altpersischer Wortschatz, Abh. K. Morgenl. (1942), p. 48.

[124] See Bartholomae, in: Grundriss der iranischen Philologie, I, 1 (1895-1901), § 145 and 327.

[125] H. H. Schaeder, Beiträge zur iranischen Sprachgeschichte, in: Ungarische Jahrbücher, 15 (1935), p. 561.

[126] See Meillet-Benveniste, o.c., § 196, cf. also the first edition of this book (1915), § 196.

[127] I refer to Reichelt, o.c., § 450.

it due to the incompleteness of the texts handed down to us that these things happen to be so?

Now, when Reichelt [128] says: "Ein mit dem Instr. des Mittels (ai. karaṇa) verwandter Gebrauch ist der als Agens (ai. kartṛ) in der passivischen Konstruktion", I would prefer to hold that the Indo-Iranian instr. ag. is a development from the instr. denoting the karaṇa. Both uses of the instr. (and we may also include the instr. denoting the person by whose influence etc. a process comes to pass [129]) express or explain the *how* of the process, expressed by the verb or verbal noun it depends upon. In Sanskrit persons, when being a karaṇa or instrument, are likewise put in the instr.; a Sanskrit instr. does not only answer to Lat. *a(b)*, but also to *per*. An inanimate object, when denoting 'an agens' is, on the other hand, put in the instr.: *śatena bandhitaḥ* "a debt of a hundred has committed him to prison" (Pāṇ. 2, 3, 24). We may compare the use of the Slavic instrumental: "Der instr. bezeichnet bei den verba passiva, bei den verba reflexiva, die als passiva verwendet werden, und bei jenen verba intransitiva, die als passiva aufgefasst werden, das bewirkende, dieses mag eine person oder eine sache sein .... Am genauesten entspricht er dem griech. dat. in Sätzen wie ἀνὴρ ἄβουλος ἡδοναῖς θηρεύεται" [130].

Imperfects and optatives built on the *-yá*-stem are, comparatively speaking, rare. In the Jaim. Br., however, there are many examples, which is due to the subject-matter of this text. Daśakum. (3 chapters): 5 (ind. 8); the whole of the Ṛgveda 7 (indic. ± 206); Nala (I-XIX) 7 (indic. 16); Sāvitrī 2 (indic. 16); Kālid. Ragh. 4 (indic. 20). As far as I know, the imperative does not occur in the parts of the ancient prose which have been examined; in the story of Pauṣya (Mbh.) there are 9 examples (imp. act.: 42), in the prose portions of Kālid. Śak. I and VI: 12 (act.: 78); in three chapters of the Daśakum.: 5 (act.: 20); in Pañcat. IV: 27 (act.: 77); Śukas. XXI-XXVII: 2 (act.: 42); Mbh. V, a. 186-192: 6 (act.: 33), selected portions from the Rām.: 1 (act. 36); Manu II: 1 (act.: 8); Ṛgveda: 10; Aśvagh., Bc. II-IV: 9 (act.: 13); Kāl. Ragh. (6 cantos): 2; Bhār., Kirāt. VII-IX: 4; Budhasv., Bṛh. XIV, 1-XV, 107 (232 verses): 25 (act.: 32). The instr. agentis is rarely added (Śiśup., Bṛhatkathām., Kathās.); in

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[128] Reichelt, o.c.

[129] See e.g. Av. Y. 41, 4; 44, 3 (Reichelt, o.c., p. 235).

[130] Fr. Miklosich, Vergleichende Grammatik der slavischen Sprachen, IV, Syntax (1868-1874), p. 704.

many texts it is never found. As to the use of this imperative I refer to the handbooks [131].

At this point I should like to make a circumstantial digression to discuss the 'original meaning' of the element *-yá-* in Vedic and Sanskrit.

When consulting the books and papers on comparative philology and Indian grammar it strikes us that the authors, generally speaking [132], agree in two axioms with regard to the Vedic and Sanskrit so-called passive present-stems in *-yá-*, viz. 1° from the point of view of Indo-European linguistics the '*-yá*-passive', like the other special passive formations in Greek, Latin etc., represent a younger development [133], 2° this formation and the radically accented *ya*-class (the 4th present-class) belong together [134]. As to the second point, Delbrück [135], while treating the '*yá*-passive' as an addendum to the 4th pr.-class, remarked that "die innige Verwandtschaft mit dem Medium der *ya*-Classe sich nachweisen lässt" [136], and argued [137] that there existed no original difference between passive and medium. "Der Grund aber, warum

[131] Speyer, S. S. § 10; idem, VSS. § 192; Renou, Gramm. Sanscr., § 293.

[132] I pass over in silence the antiquated opinions of Bopp, Pott, Benfey etc., which are enumerated by K. Brugmann, Die arische passivbildung mit suffix *-ya-*..., to be found in H. Osthoff und K.B., Morphologische Untersuchungen auf dem Gebiete der indogerm. Sprachen I (1878), p. 187 ff. B.'s own view, expounded in this paper, has with good reason not been adopted by most other scholars. L. H. Gray, Foundations of Language (New-York 1939), p. 217 says that in all Indo-European there is only one distinctively passive formation, which is confined to Indo-Iranian and Armenian — both apparently denominative formations. All other passives may be traced directly to the middle.

[133] See e.g. K. Brugmann in Brugmann-Delbrück, Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen² II, 3 (1916), p. 703, especially § 622, 2; idem, Kurze vergleichende Grammatik (1903), § 691; 802 f.; A. Meillet, Introduction à l'étude comparative des langues indo-européennes⁸ (1937), p. 245. „Le verbe i.-e. ... ne comporte guère une formation à valeur passive"; J. Wackernagel, Vorlesungen über Syntax, I², (1926), p. 136; (cf. Hirt, Indogermanische Grammatik IV (1928), p. 133 f.); H. Krahe, Indogermanische Sprachwissenschaft (1943), p. 111; J. Mansion, Esquisse d'une histoire de la langue sanscrite (1931), p. 75; J. B. Hofmann, in Stolz-Schmalz, Lateinische Grammatik⁵, (1928), p. 542 f.; Ed. Schwyzer, Griechische Grammatik I (1939), p. 639; C. D. Buck, Comparative Grammar of Greek and Latin (Chicago 1942), p. 237 etc.

[134] See e.g. A. A. Macdonell, Vedic Grammar (1910), p. 331; W. D. Whitney, A Sanskrit grammar⁵ (1924), esp. §§ 761 and 774.

[135] B. Delbrück, Das altindische Verbum (1874), p. 166, cf. p. 167, 2.

[136] See also A. J. Eaton, The Atmanepada in Ṛigveda, Diss. Leipzig, 1884, p. 20. (This author has not formulated his views in the right way; his interpretations are not always correct).

[137] Delbrück, ibidem, p. 168.

der allmählich entstehende Passivbegriff sich gerade an das Medium der *ya*-Classe anlehnt, ist schon längst in dem Umstande gefunden, dass gerade diese Classe zum grössten Teil aus Intransitivis besteht, also aus solchen Verben, welche am wenigsten deutlich eine Handlung des Subjects ausdrücken". So, Delbrück by his way of imagining the development of the 'passive' category found it was an 'Anlehnung' whereas other scholars consider it as a special use of the middle form of the 4th class: "c'est la spécialisation du présent en *-ya-* dans sa forme moyenne" [138] or as a development from that class [139]: "zum Passivum hat sich im Altindischen das Medium der 4. ind. Pr. kl. entwickelt". Speyer, however, who emphasized the close connection of the two *ya*-groups preferred to admit one original conjugation in *-yati -yate* with intransitive function, whence both the 4th class and the 'passive' have sprung [140]. This clever supposition of the Dutch scholar has not, it seems to me, been sufficiently considered in discussions of the Indian passive, and so we find, apart from the resignation, expressed by Brugmann [141], inter alia an ingenious, but, I think, not irrefutable theory of Diels' [142], which starts from an opposite view.

According to the German scholar the '*yá*-passive' is, "wenigstens vom vedischen Standpunkt aus, eine ganz für sich stehende Formenkategorie" [143]; the arguments adduced to establish the connection between the *-yá-* and *´ya*-classes are not "irgendwie genügend". Either the two classes have no connection with each other or they are fundamentally identical ("im Grunde identisch"), but if we want to support this hypothesis, we are forced to have recourse to a "gänzlich ausserhalb aller Erfahrung liegenden Mittel", viz. the argument drawn from the accentuation. Setting aside this question, which, he thinks, is of no consequence, Diels then proceeds to show by some examples from Greek and Slavonic that the '*yá*-passive' is not an Indo-Iranian innovation, but an ancient formation: Ved. *chidyáte* = ("vielleicht ohne weiteres identisch" [144]) Gr. σχίζεται, Ved. *pacyáte* = πέσσεται etc. Now,

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[138] L. Renou, Grammaire sanscrite (1930), p. 463.

[139] In this way e.g. M. Leumann, Zur Stammbildung der Verben im Indischen, Indogerm. Forsch. 57, whose words (p. 229) I quote.

[140] J. S. Speyer, Sanskrit Syntax (1886), p. 240.

[141] Brugmann, K. V. G. § 691, p. 528.

[142] P. Diels, Über das indogermanische Passivum, in Jahresbericht 91 (1913) der schlesischen Gesellschaft für vaterländische Cultur, IVb, p. 1.

[143] Diels, o.c., p. 2.

[144] Diels, o.c., p. 7.

his thesis is that the Indian passive forms of some transitive verbs existed already in the "voreinzelsprachliche Zeit": **sk̑hidyétai* pass. by the side of *sk̑hinétti* act. An attempt is made to explain the disappearance of this passive category in the European languages [145]: "Als Mittel zum Ausdruck der Passivfunktion konnte sich diese Bildung... nicht behaupten, einfach deshalb, weil dort teils ... der charakteristische Akzentunterschied unterging, teils ... die mediale Flexion". A restricted number of forms survived, beside which and from which an active (σχίζω, πέσσω etc.) sprang, and here the ancient active paradigm was ousted by the 'passive' stem.

It is almost needless to say that, from the stand-point of linguistic method, Diels' argument must be considered as rash. Wackernagel [146] soon detected a serious shortcoming: Diels did not account for the fact that πέσσεται pass. occurs in younger texts than πέσσει, that σχίζω and σχίζομαι appear in the same period etc. Besides, he unduly omits examining the connection of the *-yá*-class with the 4th present class, he does not make any inquiry into the real value of the forms under discussion etc. For all that, Hirt [147] has defended the theory by pointing at Skt. *dhīyate*: Osc. *fiiet* "fiunt", Lat. *fītur,* which, however, even if this etymology were not a highly uncertain argument [148], is only a feeble attempt.

Let us make a closer inquiry into the verbs which make up the two Indian *ya*-classes. By way of preliminary observation I wish to point out that in the 4th present-class the root, though accented, very often appears in its weak form [149]. At first sight this peculiarity seems to indicate that the suffix was originally accented. But as a large number of the *-ya*-presents have, without any doubt, arisen at a late date [150], we may not emphasize this point too much, the more so, as in all probability a considerable part of these forms are denominatives. Now, it has been argued [151] that the accentuation — as is well known the

[145] Diels, o.c., p. 6.

[146] Wackernagel, Sprachliche Untersuchungen zu Homer (1916), p. 133.

[147] H. Hirt, Indogermanische Grammatik IV (1928), p. 133 f.

[148] See e.g. A. Walde-J. B. Hofmann, Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch³ (1938), p. 505; Leumann, I. F. 57, p. 231 f.; A. Ernout et A. Meillet, Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine (1932), p. 311.

[149] Cf. also Macdonell, o.c., § 437; the roots are enumerated by Whitney, Die Wurzeln, Verbalformen und primären Stämme der Sanskrit-Sprache (1885), p. 218 f. Such forms as *tányate, pácyate,* are, of course, no 'Gegenbeispiele'.

[150] See further on.

[151] Meillet, Mém. de la Soc. de Ling. 11, 309 f.

Vedic denominatives are nearly always formed from a nominal stem to which *-yá-* was added — cannot prevent us from considering a large number of present stems of the 4th class as denominatives, because there is no evidence of the Vedic accent (*-yá-*) in the other I. E. languages; "l'accentuation du type skt. *páśyati, yúdhyati* est d'accord avec celle des dénominatifs helléniques et balto-slaves et d'une partie des nominatifs sanskrits (*mantráyate*)...". Meillet fails, however, to explain the origin of the *yá*-accentuation of *amitrayáti* "act like an enemy" etc. Nor does he account for the difference, with regard to the accent, between *apasyáti* "be active"[152] and *páśyati* "see" (which for him is likewise a denom.). Further, even if the accent of *yúdhyati* "fight" might be elucidated by the rules of Greek accentuation, this would not explain the accent of the non-denominatives. Moreover, as the causatives which are accented on the *a* which precedes the element *ya* have the I.E. *o*-vowel of the root syllable, which proves that the root was already early accentless, it is, a priori, not a matter of course that the weak root vowel and the accentuation of the verbs of the 4th class bear, genetically speaking, no relation to each other. I venture, therefore, to suppose that the *-yá*-class and part of the ´*ya*-class were identical in origin with the accent on the suffix; the more so as the 4th pr.-class consists largely of intransitive verbs. The accent occasionally fluctuates: in the Ṛgveda- and Atharvaveda-saṃhitās *mucyáte* is found accented on the root, in Brāhmaṇa passages of the Taitt. Saṃh. *lúpyate* occurs beside *lupyáte* (AV.) etc.[153].

So it will be wise to study both groups of *-ya*-presents together. Like the Greek presents in *-i̯e-/-i̯o-* (νίζω < I.E. *nigᵘ̯i̯ō*, ἀγείρω < *ἀγερ-ιω etc.) the Indo-Iranian *-ya*-presents are from the first thematic. It is, therefore, needless to dwell upon the intricate question as to the distinction between the stems in *-ī̆-/-(i)i̯o-* and those in *-i̯e-/-i̯o, -ei̯e-/-ei̯o-*, which, according to most scholars, existed in Indo-European[154], the present forms of the *-ī̆*-class ending in *-i̯ō -ī̆si -ī̆ti -m- -te -i̯onti*, those of the *-i̯e-/-i̯o-* class in *-i̯o -i̯esi -i̯eti -i̯om- -i̯ete -i̯onti*. Suffice it to quote Brugmann's remark[155]: "Wo die Klassen äusserlich zusammengefallen sind, muss für eine grosse Anzahl von Präsentia um so mehr dahin gestellt bleiben, zu welcher von beiden Gruppen sie zu

[152] A. A. Macdonell, Vedic Grammar (1910), § 567e.

[153] I refer to Macdonell, o.c., p. 331 (and n. 2); Delbrück, Altind. Synt., p. 267.

[154] I refer to Brugmann, Grundriss[2], II, 3, p. 178 ff; Meillet, Introduction[8], p. 219 f.; Schwyzer, o.c., p. 713 f. (with further reference).

[155] Brugmann, o.c., p. 182.

ziehen sind, als vielleicht die Mehrzahl der in der geschichtlichen Zeit überlieferten Formen erst nach dem Ineinanderrinnen der beiden Bildungsklassen überhaupt geschaffen worden ist". We have, however, to revert to this point in the following pages.

The I.E. suffix *-i̯e-/-i̯o-*, from which comes, as to its form, I. Ir. *-ya-*, had no semantic value of its own, it was nothing but a derivative element; however, the presents formed with it generally were of an indeterminate aspect [156]. It was used on a large scale, and, as it soon shared in the existing tendency of the thematic type of conjugation to spread at the expense of others [157], in several I. Eur. languages the original distribution of the two *-i̯o*-classes has been disturbed at an early period. Already in common I. Eur. this thematic group was about to become the predominating present formation and the number of 'younger forms', denominatives etc. is, generally speaking, extremely large [158]. We shall recur to the productivity of the *-ya*-formation in Sanskrit.

So we are not surprised at finding *-i̯o*-presents beside other formations derived from the same root: Gr. hom., poet., younger ῥήσσω, ῥήττω, "break etc.": ῥήγνυμι; φώζω "roast": φώγω; πταίρω and πτείρω "sneeze": πτάρνυμαι (∾ Lat. *sternuo* [159]); τείνω "stretch": τάνυμαι "to be stretched", τανύω (*τάνῡμι) [160]; Av. *hərəzya-* "discharge": *harəza-* etc.; *yuǰya-* "yoke etc.": *yaog- yug-, yung-* (∾ Skt. *yunákti*, Lat. *iungo* etc.). In Vedic and Sanskrit such pairs are very frequent: *kṣubhyati -te* "tremble": *kṣobhate*; *trasyati -te* "be afraid": *trasati -te* etc. [161]; see further on. Occasionally it is possible to suggest a hypothesis as to the analogical processes which gave rise to a *-i̯o*-conjugation [162]. The *-i̯o*-forms are, however, not always younger: Gr. λίτομαι

[156] See especially B. Delbrück, Vergleichende Syntax der indogermanischen Sprachen II (= Grundriss[1], IV) (1897), p. 26 ff.

[157] See also P. Buning, De indogermaansche athematische conjugatie in het Slavisch, Diss. Leiden 1927, p. 39 ff.

[158] See Brugmann, Grundriss II, 3, p. 204 ff.

[159] This word has to be considered as a younger form which has taken the place of an original non-thematic formation.

[160] Cf. also λάζομαι "seize, grasp": ἔλαβον, λαμβάνω etc. (see Schwyzer, o.c., p. 698 and E. Boisacq, Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque (1923), p. 553).

[161] See also Lanman, Proc. Amer. Or. Soc. 1885, p. XXXVI (26 examples); Renou, Gramm. sanscrite, p. 435, l. 11. For a certain number of verbs this coexistence has been mentioned by Pāṇini 3, 1, 70.

[162] See, e.g., Brugmann, Grundriss[2], II, 3, p. 189: "(lat.) *inquio -iunt* (Cic. usw.) ist angeblich zu *in-quit* aus **en-squet* = griech. ἔνι-σπε und *in-seque* hinzugebildet worden nach *aio* = **agi̯ō* neben *aiït*." Cf. also Ernout et Meillet, o.c., p. 465.

"pray, beg" is a present formed, with shifted accent, from the aorist λιτέσθαι (: λίσσομαι < *λιτι̯ομαι). An *-i̯o*-conjugation in one I. E. language may alternate with other present classes in other languages: Gr. περιτελλόμενος "go round" (: πέλω, πέλομαι "become, be") : Skt. *carati* etc., Lat. *colo* etc.; Gr. χέζω "cacare": Skt. *hadati*. The suffix *-i̯o-* [163] may occur in two languages or more: Gr. βαίνω "go"; Lat. *venio* "come": Skt. *gacchati, gamati*, Av. *ǰasaiti, ǰamaiti*; Gr. Ion. στείνω (<*sten-i̯ō*) "sigh, groan", Ch. Sl. *stenję* "groan etc.", Gr. Aeol. τέννει (: στένει, βρύχεται Hesych.), Skt. *tányati* "roar": Gr. Hom. στένω, A. Sax. *stenan*, Lit. *stenù*; Gr. σπαίρω "gasp, quiver (of a dying fish", Lit. *spiriù* (inf. *spìrti*) "to kick" [164]: Skt. *sphuráti* "kick, quiver", Lat. *sperno* "drive away, scorn" etc. As the thematic *i̯o*-stems represent a very productive formation, we generally cannot tell, whether or not the present formed from it existed already in the 'common Indo-European period'. Thus the younger Gr. ῥήσσω (see p. 86) and Lit. *rěžiu* "cut" do not prove I.E. *u̯rēǵ-i̯ō*. As Lit. *jùngiu* "yoke" has taken the place of an original non-thematic present (cf. Skt. *yunákti*, Gr. ζεύγνυμι; Lat. *iungo*) [165] it does not show that Ved. etc. *yujyáte* belonged to the 'common I. Eur. language'. May we assume that **nigu̯-i̯e-* "to wash oneself" is I. Eur., because we find in Greek νίζω "wash", νίζομαι "to wash one's hands etc." and in epic Sanskrit *nijyate* (beside Ved. *ninikta* and the intens. *nénekti*) [166]? Sometimes the thematic *i̯o*-present is the only one to be found: Gr. ῥέζω "dye", Skt. *rájyati* "be coloured, be red etc."; Skt. *paśyati* "see", Av. *spasyeiti*, Lat. *specio* and (if <*σκεπι̯ομαι) Gr. σκέπτομαι [167]. Even in these cases we must reckon with the possibility of derivation in post-common-I. Eur. times. But these instances, which might easily be multiplied, clearly show that already at an early period there existed a considerable number of *-i̯o*-presents beside other present-stems derived from the same root. We may consider this co-existence as the starting-point for the development in Sanskrit, which soon tended to combine a *-yá-* present and other stems to form one conjugation.

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[163] I.E. *-ĭ-* / *-i(i̯)ó-* and *-i̯e-/-i̯o-*.

[164] See also R. Trautmann, Baltisch-Slavisches Wörterbuch (1923), p. 275 f.

[165] See e.g. Brugmann, Grundriss², II, 3, p. 285; 382.

[166] As to the cognate words in Celtic I refer to H. Osthoff, IF. 27, p. 177; R. Thurneysen, Handbuch des Altirischen I, p. 135; H. Pedersen, Vergleichende Grammatik der keltischen Sprachen I (1908), p. 108 f.; II (1913), p. 585.

[167] Uncertain. See, e.g., Brugmann, o.c. II, 3, p. 195; 365 f.; Ernout et Meillet, o.c., p. 921.

With the *-ī̆-|-(i)i̯o*-stems the root very often appears in its weak form: Ch. Slav. *kyplję kypiši* inf. *kypěti* "seethe, bubble", Skt. *kúpyati* "boil up, become agitated", Lat. *cupio* [168]; Ch. Slav. *mĭnję mĭniši* inf. *mĭněti* "think, be of opinion", Got. *munaiþ* "intend", O. Ir. *do-muin-iur* "I believe", Gr. μαίνομαι (<**mn̥-i̯ó-*) "rage", Skt. *mányate* "think". The other type, with full grade vowel in the radical syllable, is, however, not rare [169]; Umbr. *heriest* "(Lat.) volet", Skt. *háryati -te* "desire etc." [170]; Lit. *perìu perė́ti* "brood". The original distribution of the radical vowels has admittedly been considerably disturbed. With the *-i̯e-|-i̯o*-stems the root appears in its weak form in Gr. σπαίρω, Lit. *spiriù*; Gr. σκάλλω "stir up" and in many other stems [171], in its strong form in Lit °*veriù* "open; shut", Lat. *operio* "shut" (<°*u̯erio*), *aperio* "open" [172].

Like the *-ēi-* and *-ēi̯o*-formations, to which they are related, the *-ī-|-i̯o*-present stems are mainly intransitive [173]: Skt. *tŕ̥ṣyati* "be thirsty"; Gr. μαίνομαι; but there are also transitives: Ch. Sl. *viždę viděti* "see", O. Sax. *hebbiu* "have" etc. The other class consists of trans. (Lat. *specio*; *sāgio* "perceive acutely") and intrans. verbs (Skt. *śúṣyati* "dry, wither", Ch. Sl. *sъšetъ*, words denoting a sound: Lit. *krokiù* "rattle" etc.). Many intransitives have active endings: Gr. χαίρω; σκαίρω "skip, frisk"; θυίω, θύω "to be inspired"; Lat. *fio* "become etc."; the Sanskrit occurrences will be dealt with further on. An active form may correspond to a middle present in another language: lat. *salio* "leap": gr. ἅλλομαι. Occasionally the same *-i̯o*-present could be used as a trans. and as an intrans. verb: Gr. κλαίω "lament, weep for, cry, wail"; βάλλω "throw; fall"; ἵζω "make sit, place; sit"; ναίω "settle etc.; dwell". Similarly Ved. *ríṣyati* "be hurt, receive harm" and "harm, injure"; Ved. *rádhyati* "be or make subject to"; Ved. *dā́myati* "be or make tame"; Ved. + *búdhyate* "wake, awake" and "notice, heed" etc.

In the other cases the active voice expresses the transitive meaning,

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[168] Cf., however, also Ernout et Meillet, o.c., p. 235.

[169] The etymological combinations, given by Brugmann, o.c., p. 182 ff. may not be relied upon in all respects. See also Meillet, Le slave commun (1924), p. 184.

[170] See, however, Meillet, M.S.L., 11, p. 306.

[171] I refer to the enumeration of Greek presents, given by Schwyzer, o.c., p. 714.

[172] Further particulars concerning the ablaut will be given in the following pages.

[173] "...zeigen ganz vorzugsweise intransitive Bedeutung", Brugmann, Kurze vergl. Gramm. (1903), p. 527.

the middle forms the intransitive: Gr. δαίω "kindle": δαίομαι "blaze"; καίω "kindle": καίομαι "burn". Sometimes the middle voice may, of course, express the 'medial notion': Gr. νίζω "wash off": νίζομαι "wash ... off one's skin etc.".

Now, a restricted number of Greek middle -*i̯o*-presents of intrans. or 'eventive' meaning, beside which exists a trans. active, correspond with Indian -*yá*-forms of eventive meaning: Gr. hom. ἀτύζεσθαι "to be bewildered, — distraught with grief"[174] (the active ἀτύζω "strike with terror" does not occur until the Hellenistic period)[175]: Ved. *tujyáte* "to flee frightened"; σχίζεται (e.g. Herodotus 2, 17 (ὁ Νεῖλος) σχίζεται "branches (into three channels)", 8, 34 ἡ στρατιὴ ἐσχίζετο): Ved. + *chidyáte* "get torn, get split, be broken"; πέττεται "become cooked, — done" (cf. Arist. Eccl. 843 πόπανα πέττεται): Ved. + *pacyate*[176]. In the same way the 'agentless passive' θείνομαι (Hom.

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[174] The identity of these verbs, admitted by Sonne (Kuhn's Zeitschr. 12, p. 297), has been denied by Uhlenbeck and other scholars (cf. also Boisacq, o.c., p. 99: "ἀ- *ambigu*"; Walde-Pokorny, Etym. Wtb., II, 616 "vielleicht"). The meaning of the Indian verb has, however, been insufficiently recorded (skt. *tuñjáti tujáti* 'frapper, pousser, blesser', (Boisacq), *tujyáte* is passed over). In Homer's poems ἀτύζομαι means "to be bewildered" (cf. Z 41 ἀτυζόμενοι φοβέοντο) and "flee bewildered": cf. RV. 1, 84, 17 *ká īṣate tujyáte kó bibhāya*, correctly translated by Geldner (Der Ṛigveda übers. u. erläutert, I (1923), p. 98): "Wer weicht, (wer) flieht, wer hat Furcht?"; ibid. 1, 11, 5 *tvā́ṃ devā́ ábibhyuṣas tujyámānāsa āviṣuḥ* "to thee the gods have rendered assistance, frightened for him who does not fear" (according to Sāyaṇa, *ab.* is an irregular nom. plur.), *tujyámānāsaḥ* corresponds with ἀτυζόμενοι; ibid. 1, 61, 14 the stem *tujá-* expresses the same meaning: *dyā́vā ca bhū́mā ... tujete* "heaven and earth are frightened" ("fahren erschrocken zusammen" Geldner), but 6 this form means "to strike with terror": *tujánn ī́śānas tujatā́* (viz. *vájreṇa*) ("als er mit der losfahrenden (Keule auf ihn) losfuhr" Geldner), cf. also 9, 91, 4 *tujatā́ vadhéna* "... coming on frightfully". But the present *tuñj-* (VII) has to be translated by "to make active, instigate, urge on etc.": RV. 1, 131, 2 *víśveṣu hí tvā́ sávaneṣu tuñjáte* "at all Soma sacrifices they impel you (Indra)" ("in Eifer versetzen", Grassmann, Wtb. zum RV., 539); 9, 57, 2 *tuñjānā́ ā́yudhā:* "discharging, hurling weapons"; 1, 105, 2 (and 9, 15, 3; 79, 5) it is used to express the notion of "pressing out (forcibly), causing to spout out": *tuñjā́te vṛ́ṣṇiyam páyaḥ* "ausspritzen" (Grassmann) (Geldner duly compares TS. 3, 1, 11, 8); 9, 87, 6 the same meaning is found with object *rayím* "wealth". Cf. also the meaning of the perfect-stem: 1, 143, 6 *codā́ḥ kuvít tutujyā́t sātáye dhíyaḥ* ("to inspire thoughts"); the part. perf. med. is used to express the meaning "hastening, rushing on": 1, 3, 6 *índrā yāhi tū́tujāna*; 61, 12; 6, 29, 5 ("eifervoll"); 37, 5 etc. (of Indra); 7, 67, 6 and 84, 5 this part. means "eager for".

[175] See also Wackernagel, Sprachl. Unters. zu Homer, p. 133.

[176] I do not write an accent (according to Delbrück, Vergl. Syntax II, 37 the Greek word corresponds with *pácyate*, according to Diels, o.c. with *pacyáte*); see p. 98.

ι 459) may be compared with *hanyáte* "meet one's death (by some one's hand)". For obvious reasons we do not mention ἀπομύσσομαι "blow one's nose": Ved. + *mucyáte* "become free, become rid of etc." on account of the 'middle sense' of the Greek verb, Ch. Slav. *znajǫ znati* "γιγνώσκειν" etc.: Ved. + *jñāyáte*, because of the active voice of the Slavic forms. The active verbs, of transitive-ergative meaning, found beside these Indian -*yá*-forms, are non-thematic: *tuj*- VII (3 p. pl. *tuñjánti, tuñjáte*); *chinátti* VII; *hánti* II, *pácati* I excepted. Letting alone the question as to the chronology of the transitive active -*i̯o*-forms discussed by other scholars, we may conclude that already at an early period -*i̯o*-presents of intrans.-eventive meaning occurred beside trans.-active non-thematic present-forms [177]. There are, in any case, some corresponding words in the Iranian languages and Sanskrit that cannot be ascribed to chance: G. Av. *sruyē* (Y. 33, 7) is an 'agentless passive' ("auf dass man mich höre" Bartholomae) [178] "to obtain a hearing": Ved. + *srūyáte* beside Av. *surunaoiti srunaoiti*, Ved. *śr̥ṇoti* "to hear"; O. Pers. θ*ahyāmahiy* "we are called" (Dutch "wij heten") [179]: Ved. + *śasyáte* "to receive recognition"; Av. *saŋhaiti* (V. 18, 1-5) "bezeichnet werden als, genannt werden" "könnte auch als präs. (**sahya*-) genommen werden" [180]: beside the thematic act. pr. to be found in Ved. +: *śáṃsati* and Av.: G. *sə̄nghaiti*, Y. *saŋhaiti* there are some non-thematic forms in Av.: *sahyą̄t* etc. In Vedic we have e.g. br. *mīyáte* "perish, be lost" beside *mināti* "lessen, diminish, damage"; *kṣīyáte* "be exhausted, perish, cease": *kṣiṇāti* "destroy"; *dīryáte* "break asunder, split open" (intr.): *dr̥ṇāti* trans.; *pūryáte* "become full, fill one's self": *pr̥ṇāti* "fill, sate etc."; *śīryáte* -*ti* "go asunder, decay, perish": *śr̥ṇāti* "crush, break"; *śiṣyáte* "remain, be left": *śinasti* "leave", etc. [181]. Sometimes a ˊ*ya*-form occurs beside the -*yá*-present: *mī́yate, kṣī́yate*; see further on. We may safely admit that -*yá*-presents with intr.-eventive meaning have often joined active-ergative (and middle) presents derived from the same root. On the other hand, a large number of younger -*yá*-forms will have taken the place of other active and middle presents.

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177 See also Meillet, MSL. 11, p, 305.

178 Chr. Bartholomae, Die Gatha's des Awesta (1905), p. 37.

179 See A. Meillet-E. Benveniste, Grammaire du Vieux-perse (1931), § 196, p. 114.

180 Chr. Bartholomae, Altiranisches Wörterbuch (1904), 1579.

181 See also F. B. J. Kuiper, Die indogermanischen Nasalpräsentia (Amsterdam 1937), p. 78. Compare Meillet, B.S.L. 26, p. 5 f.

Let us now consider the *-ya*-stems which make up the Indian 4th present-class. These presents are, according to Whitney[182], 133 in number; nearly half of them (64) have forms in use in all periods of the language, 41 occurring only in the earlier, 28 only in the modern period. As to the meaning and, I think, the history of these verbs, we may distinguish between some groups or types. I direct attention only to the main points.

A very considerable part (over 50) signify a condition of mind or body or a state of feeling, thus: *kṣudh-* "be hungry", *muh-* "be confused", *śuṣ-* "be dry" etc. As a rule the root appears in its weak form[183]. Some exceptions exist; these forms, however, which I exclude from this first group, will be dealt with further on. A number of presents of the *kṣudh*-type correspond with[184] *-i̯o*-presents in one or two related languages: epic + *kupyati*[185] "to become moved or agitated, to boil up, to be angry": Lat. *cupio* "desire (eagerly)"[186], Ch. Sl. etc. *kyplję* "seethe etc."; Ved. + *gŕ̥dhyati* "to be greedy, eager; speed etc.": cf. Balto-Sl. *gildi̯ō* "verlange" admitted by Trautmann[187]; Ved. + *tŕ̥pyati* "be content, satiate one's self": Gr. τέρπομαι "enjoy, delight oneself", τέρπω "gladden"; Ved. *tŕ̥ṣyati* "be thirsty": Got. *þaúrsjan*; Ved. + *pádyate* "go, fall etc.": Av. *paiδyeiti* etc. "move (down)"; Ved. + *mányate* "think etc.": Gr. μαίνομαι "rage"; Lit. *miniù minė́ti* "remember, think etc."; Ch. Sl. *mьnję mьněti* "νομίζειν, δοκεῖν"; ep. + *svidyati* "sweat": O. H. Germ. *swizzen*. As there is, in my opinion, no reason to consider these presents, some of which may have existed in pre-Indian times, as essentially different from the verbal forms of the type *tujyáte*, which we have already enumerated, we have arrived at another argument in favour of the thesis that both *-ya*-groups were identical in origin.

I would suppose that the accent of the type *gŕ̥dhyati* has been influenced by the accentuation of some other group, especially of the *páśyati* and *glā́yati* types. As the starting-point of the analogical process we may consider the rather numerous verbs of these types the meaning of which did not differ from the above presents: Ved. + *mā́dyati* "be

[182] Whitney, Die Wurzeln ..., p. 218 f.

[183] See also Renou, Grammaire sanscrite, § 312.

[184] This does not mean 'etymological' identity.

[185] In this enumeration only the active or middle forms are given, even when the other conjugation exists.

[186] "ai. *kúpyati* = *cupio*", A. Walde-J. B. Hofmann, Latein. etymol. Wtb.[3] (1938), p. 312; but see Ernout et Meillet, Dict. étymol., p. 235.

[187] Trautmann, o.c., p. 87.

agitated, be pleasantly excited etc."; Ved. + *śrā́myati* "be weary, take pains" [188]; Ved. + *glā́yati* "be loth"; Ved. + *dhyā́yati* "think" etc., to which we may add Ved. *médyati* "be fat", which notwithstanding the modern etymology (*meda-* "fat" <**mazda-*, i.e. *mad-do-* or **mad*[*e*]*z-do-*: O. H. Germ. *mast* "Mästung" [189]) for the grammatical instinct of the Indians contained a root *mid-* [190]. In all probability the many co-existent verbs belonging to the first present class [191] have also been an element in the process: Upan. *kṣóbhate:* ep. + *kṣubhyati* (4th cl.) "tremble"; ṛgved. *jásamāna-*: *jasyata* "be exhausted"; Ved. + *trásati*: ep. + *trasyati* "tremble"; Ved. + *bhráṃsate*: younger Ved. + *bhraśyate* "fall, sink, be lost"; Ved. + *bódhati*: *búdhyate* "wake etc."; ṛgved. *ráṇati*: *ráṇyati* "be pleased"; Ved. *roṣati*: ep. + *ruṣyati* "be cross or angry"; upan. *svédate*: ep. + *svidyati* "sweat" etc. In a few cases the first pres.-class appears only in a later period of the language (to my knowledge): Ved. + *tṛ́pyati* "be satisfied etc.": ep. *tarpanti* [192]; Ved. + *śrā́myati* "be weary": ep. + *śramati*. This is only to be expected. It would therefore appear to me that the accentual differentiation of the *-ya-*verbs was attended by a partial leaning towards other thematic root-accented presents.

A peculiarly interesting pair of presents are "das mit einem Passiv bildungsgleiche" [193] *jā́yate* "be born" and *mriyáte* "die". *jā́yate,* which belongs to the Indo-Ir. period [194], may be considered as an innovation instead of the present built on the stem *ĝi-ĝn-o-* [195]. "Es bildet ... ein Paar mit dem ererbten *mriyáte* (lat. *morior*)", Leumann argues, "vermutlich wurde in urarischer Zeit **ẑāi̯atai* zu **ẑāta-* (Skt. *jāta-*, ...) gebildet, als neben *mṛta-* noch ein **mṛi̯atai* (Av. *miryeite* gegen Skt. *mriyate*) stand". This reasoning does not account for the accentuation of *jā́yate.* Although it is, in my opinion, open to question, whether **mṛ-i̯o-* belongs to Common-I. Eur. [196], there can scarcely be any doubt that the two verbs 'formed a pair' and influenced each other; we may compare, e.g., the similar influence of the part. fut. *moriturus*,

[188] See Walde-Pokorny, o.c., p. 498.
[189] P. von Bradke, K.Z. 28, p. 295; Walde-Pokorny, II, p. 230 f.
[190] See e.g. Pāṇini 7, 3, 82.
[191] See above, p. 86 and n. 161.
[192] Cf. Kuiper, o.c., p. 80, n. 3.
[193] M. Leumann, I. F. 57, p. 232.
[194] I refer to Bartholomae, Grundriss der iranischen Philologie I, p. 83 (§ 148, 9).
[195] See Leumann, o.c.
[196] Walde-Pokorny, o.c, II, p. 276, upholds the identity, but see Ernout et Meillet, o.c., p. 600.

"dont la forme s'est étendue à tous les verbes désignant la naissance par opposition à la mort: *nasciturus, oriturus, pariturus*" [197]. But *mriyáte* retained its accent, because, I fancy, dying was considered as an 'event'; in the philosophical and psychological conceptions and the linguistic feeling of the ancient Indo-Iranians and Indians *mriyáte* presumably was on a par with such ideas and presents as *chidyáte* "get split or torn, be broken", *tujyáte* "to flee frightened", *vidyáte* "be found, exist", *tṛhyáte* "to be broken to pieces, to be crushed"; *dabhyáte* "suffer damage or loss"; *nidyáte* "to be despised, held up to scorn" etc. According to Whitney [198], Macdonell [199] and other scholars *mriyáte,* though passive in form, is not so in sense; I should prefer to say that *mriyáte* is apparently a pure 'eventive'. The present *jā́yate* has, on the other hand, been transferred to the *ˊya*-class, because, I think, the idea it expresses was considered to be related to the concepts denoted by the *kṣudh*-group; cf. *pádyate* "move (down), go, fall, fall out, sink down, perish": *ut-padyate* "come forth, be born, arise, appear etc."; the other compounds of *pad-* likewise express 'conditions of body or person': *ni-padyate* "lie down, rest"; *niṣ-padyate* "fall out, come forth, arise (, ripen)", etc. The present *jā́yate* is not an 'altered passive' [200], it is an intransitive 'eventive'. In Greek, too, 'be born' was not a passive verb: γίγνομαι, γενήσομαι, ἐγενόμην, γεγένημαι, γέγονα, and in many languages this idea is expressed by intransitives, viz. verbs denoting a state or condition etc.: Javanese *wĕtu* "come forth, come into the world, be born" [201]. In Sanskrit we find *saṃbhavati* "be born etc." Another no less effectual factor in determining the accent of *jā́yati* has, I think, been the co-existence of such pairs of verbal forms as Ved. *pácati* "ripen" (trans.): *pácyate* "ripen" (intr.) [202]; Ved. + *sā́dhati* "put in order, effect, accomplish": *sídhyati* (the root in its weak form!) "succeed, be accomplished"; cf. also Ved. *śúndhati* "purify": Ved. + *śúdhyati* "become pure". The relation *jánati* "generate, bring forth": *jā́yate* has apparently been felt as similar. There also existed a number of 'causative' verbs in *-áya-*, which presumably derived from common Indo-Eur. and served to express the transitive meaning which corresponds with the meaning

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[197] Ernout et Meillet, o.c., p. 599.
[198] Whitney, A Sanskrit Grammar, § 773.
[199] Macdonell, o.c., § 444a.
[200] Whitney, o.c., § 761b.
[201] Fränkel, I. F. 49, p. 235; Gonda, I. F. 50, p. 273 f.
[202] See also further on, p. 98.

of *-yá*-presents: Ved. + *damáyati* "make tame" (: Got. *ga-tamjan*, O. H. Germ. *zemmen*, O. Isl. *temia*, Lat. *domō* <**domā-i̯ō*)[203]: Ved. *dā́myati* intr. "to be tame"; Ved. + *nāśáyati* "make disappear, destroy etc.", Lat. *noceo* (which originally must have meant "kill, destroy, ruin"): *náśyati* "be lost, disappear"; Ved. *tarṣáyati* "cause to thirst" (: Lat. *torreo*, O. H. Germ. *derren*). In a similar way Ved. + *janáyati* "generate, bring forth" (: A. Sax. *cennan* "to generate") served as a trans. to *jā́yate*. Lastly the accent of such forms as Ved. + *śrā́myati*, Ved. + *mā́dyati*, Ved. + *trā́yate* "protect etc.", which have *ā* in the root-syllable, may have played a part.

There can be no doubt that the verb *yúdhyati* "fight, combat", which does not denote a condition of mind or body, originally did so and, consequently, belonged to the *kṣudh*-group. Although another meaning is very rare in Old Indian, AV. 12, 3, 29 it reads (subj.: boiling water) *úd yodhanty abhí valganti taptā́ḥ* "it rises in bubbles, it dances on, being heated" and Pañc. br. 7, 5, 2 the same compound means: "to fly out, to fire up" (of the subjects of a king). In Av. and O. Pers. the verb usually means "in aufregung geraten, sich aufregen" (of water and turbulent provinces), in Lit. we have *judù, judéti* "to move trembling" and *jundù, jùsti* "to begin to tremble" etc.: the original meaning of the root must have been: "to be moving (or to begin to move) in a restless, excited, turbulent manner". Hence: "to fight etc.".

As a rule the causative-stem serves as a transitive to these verbs: Ved. + *tarpáyati* "satisfy, please"; Ved. + *śoṣáyati* "make dry, afflict"; cf. also Ved. + *śocáyati* "burn, afflict" beside *tŕ̥pyati*, *śúṣyati*, *śúcyati*. The causative may appear in an earlier text than the *ya*-present: cf. *rajayati* A.V., *árajyate* in the same text is questionable.

A 'passive' of the verbs which belong to the *kṣudh*-type does, as a rule, not occur. We may account for the exceptions in the following way: At times a passive which is identical with the intrans. *-ya*-form appears in post-Vedic or even late texts, e.g. *puṣyate* "be reared" (Bhāg. Pur. 3, 31, 25 *puṣyamāṇo janena*), *budhyate* "be noticed, perceived" (Kathās. 41, 14 *indreṇa tad abudhyata*) (mark the meaning). Here we have, beside the presents of the 4th class, other presents of trans. meaning, to which the *-ya*-form corresponds as a passive. *puṣyati* is a curious instance: in Vedic literature it is trans. and intrans., in epic Sanskrit etc. *puṣṇāti*, which is trans., appears. In classical Sanskrit

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[203] See also Ernout-Meillet, o.c., p. 270.

there is a 'passive' *rajyate*, beside which we find ep. + *rañjati* "colour" (and the 4th pr.-stem *rajyate, -ti* A.V.? ep. +) [204].

There are some verbs of the 4th class beside which a transitive present of a nasal-class may be quoted: ep. + *kliśyate* "suffer, be distressed": ep. + *kliśnāti* "torment, molest"; Ved. *rīyate* "flow, run" = *riṇīte*: Ved. *riṇāti* "let loose, cause to run".

Further, we find Ved. + *śúdhyati* "become pure, clear" beside Ved. *śúndhati* "purify" and *śundhate* "purify one's self, become pure" (*ātmānam*; *mukham*; *daivyāya karmaṇe śundhadhvam*); ṛgved. *dṛ́hya, dṛ́hyasva* "be firm" beside *dṛṃhati* (I; A.V. also VI) "make firm" [205].

Without going into further details, we may conclude that the relations *kliśyate*: *kliśnāti* etc. are similar to the relations *chidyáte*: *chinatti* etc., which have been recorded above.

There is, however, a notional difference between the *-yá-* verbs used without a personal agens on one hand and the *kṣudh*-group on the other. Let us consider a number of agentless passives or intransitively used 'passive' forms such as are to be found in Vedic texts: *idhyáte* "flare up": *inddhé*; *pṛcyáte* "ergiesst sich, becomes mixed": *pṛṇákti*; *ricyáte* "be emptied, be deprived": *riṇákti*; *sicyáte* "ergiesst sich": *siñcáti* (VI); *ucyáte* "heissen": *vívakti*; (*vi*)*vicyate* "undergo separation": *vinákti*; *pūryáte* "increase": *pṛṇāti, píparti*; (*pari*)-*śiṣyate* "is left": *śinásti*, etc. etc. These *-yá*-words denote something happening or befalling a subject, they are 'eventives': a process takes place, by which the subject is, in some way or other, affected. The same processes may also be conceived in a transitive sense; then they are denoted by the active verb. The co-existence of a transitive active has apparently been a factor in intensifying the idea of external action, motive, cause, which is often more or less implicitly present.

The *kṣudh*-type, on the other hand, is apparently the outcome of a tendency toward a restriction to a certain semantic group. The *kṣudh*-verbs express a condition of mind or body etc.: "to be hungry, to be angry" etc. A process takes place in the subject. A minority of cases excepted, only the causative verb (10th class) is in actual use to express the bringing about of the process.

Of course this is only a subtle difference [206].

A number of roots make their fourth present from their strong

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[204] As to this verb see Kuiper, o.c., p. 147 f.

[205] Cp. also Kuiper, o.c., p. 79 sqq. and 215.

[206] *kliśyate* (ep. +) secondarily in the IVth class, or is *kliśnāti* a 'young' form?

form. Thus those roots which never distinguish the vowel of the 'weak forms' from that of the strong forms: *páśyati* "see": verb. adj. Ved. + *spaṣṭa-*; *jasyata* (Ṛgveda) "be exhausted": red. aor. *ajījasata*; *ásyati* "throw": verb. adj. Ved. + *asta-*; *tápyati* (br. +, beside *tápati* Ved. +) "heat": verb. adj. Ved. + *taptá-*; *dásyati* "waste": *dasta-*; *náśyati* "be lost": *naṣṭa-*; *pádyate* "fall, go": *panna-*, etc. Some of these forms may have had the same history as the *kṣudh*-type. Other *´ya*-verbs, however, have, in all probability, been accented on the root from the outset: Ved. + *páśyati* "see": cf. Av. *spasyeiti* "see", Lat. *specio*. In spite of the remarks and observations made by Ernout and Meillet [207] ("en indo-ir. comme en latin, le présent du type en *-*i̯e-*/*-i-* a ici l'air dérivé de formes nominales" etc.), I admit a form **spéḱ-i̯ō* or, at least, I.Ir. *spáś-i̯ō*. However we must appreciate the etymologies given for *náhyati* [208], which possibly is a denominative, its accent has, I think, always been on the root. The etymology of Ved. + *as-* "throw" is obscure [209], if $a < *e$, the accent is probably original. These verbs are transitive.

The root *trā-* "rescue", which is a monosyllabic form of the dissyllabic base *terāx-*, accents the radical syllable of its root-class present-forms throughout, e.g. *trā́sva*, *trā́dhvam*; such forms in *-ā-*, which represents the strong grade of the second base-syllable, commonly appear without gradation [210]. It seems, therefore, almost certain that Ved. + *trā́yate* (cf. Av. pres.-st. *θrāya-*) was accented on the first syllable from the beginning. The verb *dhyā́yati* "think" probably belongs here [211]. Compare also Ved. + *pyā́yate* "swell, overflow" (*pyā-*) beside *páyate* "swell, fatten" (Ṛgveda) (*pi-*, *pī-*, verb. adj. *pīna-*) [212]. Beside these evident 'extensions' of monosyllabic roots by the addition of a long vowel also such a present as *kṣā́yati* "burn" may be considered as a *ya*-present derived from an *ā*-root (*kṣāti-* "heat", *kṣāma-* "burned" etc.).

Some presents, however, which by the Indian grammarians and

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[207] Ernout et Meillet, o.c., p. 921.

[208] See Walde-Pokorny, o.c., II, p. 328 f. and especially Ernout et Meillet, o.c., p. 630.

[209] See also K. Pedersen, Hittitisch und die anderen indoeuropäischen Sprachen (Det Kgl. Danske Vidensk. Selbskab, Hist.-fil. Medd. 25, 2, 1938, p. 151, who compares Hitt. *pi-eš-ši-ja-az-zi* "throws away, throws off".

[210] Compare also Whitney, Grammar, § 628.

[211] According to P. Persson, Beiträge zur indogerm. Wortforschung (Uppsala 1912), p. 700.

[212] Cf. Walde-Pokorny, o.c., II, p. 73.

the modern scholars who followed them, are treated as belonging to the fourth class, are really or may be thematic stems derived from roots ending in *y*[213] or forms in *-áyati*: Ved. *gā́yati* "sing": verb. adj. *gīta-*, Lit. *pra-gýstu* "begin to sing"[214], base *gāi-/gī-*; *váyati* "weave" (fut. Ṛgveda *vayiṣyáti*; pass. br. sū. *ūyate*) may be derived from *u̯ei-* as *vyáyati* "envelop"; Wackernagel, however, preferred to regard it as an *-éi̯o*-present: *v-áyati*[215]; *mlā́yati* "relax, wither" (an aorist *mlāyāt*?[216]): base *mel-*, *melā-*, *melāi-*, *melēi-*[217]; Ved. br. *śrā́yati* (beside *śrīṇā́ti*) "boil" (verb. adj. *śrīta-*)?

To whichever group they may belong, there seems to be no good reason to deny the probability that a considerable number of presents reckoned to the fourth class were always root-accented[218] (compare also *glā́yati* (AV. +, *-te* sū. ep.) "be loth, be exhausted" beside ep. *glāti* just like Ved. + *trā́yate*: ep. + *trāti*).

In other I.-E. languages there are also 'primary' verbs from monosyllabic stems ending in a long vowel[219]. These belong in part to the root class (Gr. Dor. φᾱμί, Lat. *fārī*), or in part to parallel *i̯o*-presents, as Lat. *no* "swim" < **snā[i̯]ō*. Some scholars[220] have, however, probably been too rash in considering the original I.-E. character of *snā-i̯e/o-* etc. as certain or, at least, as plausible: whereas *snā́ti* occurs already in Vedic, *snāyate* is epic, and *vāyate* "blow (wind)", which has often been quoted as a close parallel to Got. *waian*, Ch. Slav. *vějǫ* etc.[221] does not appear with this meaning before the Mahābhārata.

Although it is not possible to draw a hard and fast line between the so-called 'primary' verbs and the denominatives, the statement of Brugmann's[222] that the forms derived from bases in *ā* "sich grundsätzlich nicht von der Art unterschieden, wie seit uridg. Zeit

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213 The Vedic stems in *-āyá-*, part of which are not clear, are, however, accented after the *y*; as to *gṛbhāyáti* see further on.

214 Cf. W. Schulze, K. Z. 27, p. 425.

215 Wackernagel, Altindische Grammatik, I (1896), p. 94; cf. also Walde-Pokorny, o.c., I, p. 16 and 223.

216 Whitney, Roots, p. 128.

217 Walde-Pokorny, o.c., II, p. 284 ff.

218 Brugmann, who in the first edition of his Grundriss (1892), II, p. 1085 assumes the *-i̯é*-accentuation, does not mention this point in the second edition.

219 I refer to Brugmann, Grundriss², II, 3, p. 198 ff.

220 See e.g., C. D. Buck, Comparative grammar of Greek and Latin³ (1942), p. 268.

221 Brugmann, o.c., p. 201, S. Feist, Vergl. Wörterbuch der gotischen Sprache³ (1939), p. 541 etc.

222 Brugmann, Grundriss², II, 3, p. 198.

Denominativa mittels -*i̯o*- von fem. *ā*-Stämmen aus geschaffen worden sind" perhaps lacks precision as far as the accent is concerned. For the Indian denominatives in -*ya*- have in general the accented suffix: *gopāyáti* "plays the herdsman", *priyāyáte* "holds dear", *apasyáti* "is active" etc. [223]. There are, however, denominatives which, like the causatives, have the -*áya*-accent [224], and examples of this class already appear at the earliest period of the language: *mantráyate* "speaks, takes counsel": *mantra*- "(sacred speech), counsel" etc.

Let us now consider the -*ya*-forms of which the accent fluctuates. A particularly striking instance is *pacyate:* RV. 1, 135, 8 *pácyate yávaḥ* means "the corn ripens", but 6, 29, 4 *paktíḥ pacyáte* "the (cooked) food becomes done"; 8, 58, 14 *odanám pacyámānam* is "porridge which becomes done, which is prepared", cf. 1, 162, 11; A.V. 5, 19, 4 "the brahman's cow, being cooked": *pacyámānaḥ*. So, the process which takes place in the ripening corn, which—as one might say—takes place automatically [225], is denoted by *pácyate,* the process of cooking sufficiently, which supposes technics, by *pacyáte.* — As to *jīyate,* RV. 9, 55, 4 *yó jínāti ná jīyate* has correctly been translated [226]: "der stets du siegst, nie unterliegst"; 10, 152, 1 *ná yásya hanyáte sákhā ná jīyate kádā caná* I should like to interpret in this way: "... whose friend is never killed nor loses the day" ("went to the wall", or other 'intrans.' expressions); in the same way 3, 59, 2, where I do not adopt Geldner's translation: "...wird er nicht erschlagen noch ausgeraubt" [227]; 5, 54, 7; but A.V. 5, 19, 6 *brāhmaṇó yátra jīyáte* is "where a brahman is vanquished" [228] (cf. e.g. st. 2, where the insults offered to the brahman are enumerated with active verbs). In the same way we are tempted to distinguish between an 'automatic' and an 'eventive' intransitive and to try to establish an appreciable difference of meaning. Thus T.S. 7, 2, 1, 4 *yadaíṣām pramīyeta yadā́ vā jíyeran* "if one of them perish or they go to the wall", and not "... they be oppressed". But in this way we presumably stress the point too much. — Whitney [229] says that *kṣīyate* is found in Vedas

[223] In the same way Ved. *gṛbhāyáti* "seize, grasp" (Whitney, Grammar, § 1066b), see Kuiper, o.c. p. 232 (derived from *gṛbhā*-); compare also *śrathāyati* "become loose", (*hima*)*śratha*- "the melting (of snow)", like *priyāyáte.*

[224] See Whitney, Grammar, § 1056.

[225] But RV. 10, 88, 10 it reads *sá* (*agníḥ*) *oṣadhīḥ pacati.*

[226] Grassmann, Rig-Veda übersetzt, II (1876), p. 216.

[227] Geldner, Der Rigveda I, p. 367.

[228] Whitney-Lanman, Atharva-veda Saṃhitā I, p. 253.

[229] Whitney, Die Wurzeln ..., p. 29.

and Brāhmaṇas and *kṣīyáte* in Vedic and post-Vedic literature. In the RV. the accented form *kṣī́yate* occurs only 1, 62, 12 *rā́yaḥ... ná k.* "the riches do not lessen"; 2, 9, 5, where the subject is *vasavíyam* "wealth" and 6, 45, 3 (*ūtayaḥ* "help etc.") the same shade of meaning occurs; these forms are, however, unaccented. But AV. 12, 5, 45 we find *kṣīyáte,* which obviously means: "he is destroyed": cp. (39) "Her (the cow's) slaying is magical potency ..., (41) she eats him, (43) she makes perish his maternal connection, (45) without abode ... she makes him", *kṣīyáte.*

A number of *-ya*-presents (4th class) may be considered as young. *vrīḍyati* (Dhātup. 26, 18) beside ep. + *vrīḍate* "be ashamed"; cf. *nabhyati* (ibid. 26, 130) beside Ved. *nábhate* "burst"; ep. + *trasyati*: Ved. + *trásati*; *truṭyati* (Pāṇ. 3, 1, 70; cl.): cl. *truṭati* "get broken, fall asunder"; younger Ved. + *bhraśyate* ep. + *-ti* "fall, sink": Ved. + *bhráṃśate.*

In all probability these roots have adopted a present of the *-ya*-class because of their meaning; compare also ep. *āsyati, -te* "sit"; Ved. cl. *īyate* "go"; ep. + *drāyate* "sleep", etc.

There are some *-ya*-presents which may be called "Schallwörter": Ved. + *vā́syate,* ep. *-ti* "low, bleat, roar, cry (of birds)": for the formation cp. Lat. *vāgio, -īre* ("formation expressive: "faire wā" " [230]) "cry, scream"; Ved. *rā́yati* "bark", cf. Gr. λαίειν· φθέγγεσθαι (Hes.) "utter sounds, speak", Ch. Slav. *lają, lajati* "bark" etc. [231]; cl. *ghuṣyant* beside Ved. + *ghóṣati* "sound, cry, call out"; ep. *lapyant* beside Ved. + *lapati* "chatter, lament etc."; the two last mentioned presents evidently being young. In other I.-Eur. languages words denoting sounds etc. are often formed with the *i̯o-* (*-i̯e-*/*i̯o-*)-suffix [232]: Lit. ***krankiù, krañkti*** and ***kraukiù, kraũkti*** "croak"; Gr. κρώζω "croak" etc.; cf. also βήσσω "cough" etc., Lat. *crocio* "croak", etc.

The personal endings of the 'passive' *-ya*-class have repeatedly been discussed in a manner which I cannot consider satisfactory [233]. These *-yá*-forms are no complete passive; and even if they were —: a Greek pass. aor. can teach us that there exist passives without middle endings. The *-yá*-class occasionally assumes active instead of middle endings

[230] Ernout et Meillet, Dict. étym., p. 1028. See also Walde-Pokorny, Vergl. Wtb., I, p. 214 f.

[231] See Walde-Pokorny, o.c., II, p. 376.

[232] See, e.g., Brugmann, Grundriss, II, 3, p. 194; Schwyzer, Griech. Gramm., p. 716.

[233] See already Brugman[n] in Osthoff und B., Morphologische Untersuchungen, I, p. 204 ff.

which are usual. In the epics active endings even are by no means infrequent [234]. According to several authors they are due to a later development. Whitney explains the frequency of the active endings in the epics as a part of the general confusion of personal endings in these texts [235]. To a certain extent he is right. This view has also been adopted by Schaeder [236] who stated that Veda (i.e. in the saṃhitā's) and Gāθā's "ausschliesslich mediale Endungen aufweisen". With the presents of the *kṣudh*-type, however, the active endings are very usual: br. *kṛ́śyati,* Ved. + *kṣúdhyati,* Ved. + *gṛ́dhyati*; Ved. *tṛ́ṣyati*; Ved. +*dṛ́pyati* "rave, be foolish"; Ved. + *lubhyati* etc. have only active endings, of other verbs the active forms are already found in Vedic texts, the middle only in post-Vedic literature: Ved. + *krudhyati,* ep. + *-te*; br. + *tā́myati* "become dull or stiff, faint away", ep. + *-te*; y. Ved. + *tuṣyati,* cl. *-te*; Ved. + *tṛ́pyati,* ep. + *-te*; Ved. + *dúṣyati* "be or become bad, impure", ep. + *-te*; Ved. + *púṣyati*: ep. + *-te;* y. Ved. + *bhrā́śyate,* ep. + *-ti*; Ved. + *múhyate,* up. + *-te*; br. + *śúdhyati,* ep. + *-te*; Ved. + *śúṣyati,* ep. + *-te*; Ved. + *hṛṣyati,* ep. + *-te*; cf. also Ved. + *nṛ́tyati:* ep. + *-te* "dance etc." The present *mányate* (Ved. +) forms an exception: *-ti* up. +; cf. also the trans. Ved. + *mṛṣyate* "forget", ep. + *-ti.* With reference to the other remarks made in this book with regard to the connection between the two *-ya*-classes, the frequency of active endings with the *kṣudh*-verbs convinces that they originally could have occurred with the *-yá*-forms as well.

Of the so-called passive aorist in *-i* [237] there are 178 indicatives and 42 subjunctives in the Ṛgveda. Only 13 times the agens is added. In this text this type is derived from trans. and intrans. verbs and we cannot consider it to be prevailingly a 'passive formation'. These statements are in accordance with the rules given by Pāṇini, who admits *i*-forms of a 'middle' meaning (*apādi,* 3, 1, 60) and karmakartari (usually rendered by 'reflexive'), which presents itself when sub-

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[234] See e.g. Whitney, Gr. § 774; Ad. Holtzmann, Grammatisches aus dem Mahabharata (1884), p. 25 f.

[235] Similarly D. Andersen, Om Brugen og Betydningen af Verbets Genera i Sanskrit, Diss. Copenhagen 1892, p. 118 f. See also Renou, Gramm., p. 465.

[236] H. H. Schaeder, Beiträge zur iranischen Sprachgeschichte (Ungarisches Jahrbücher 15, 1935), p. 260. From this Schwyzer, Griech. Gramm., p. 714, n. 3 concludes: "in geschichtlicher Zeit ist freilich die aktive Flexion jünger als die mediale".

[237] See Renou, Grammaire sanscrite, § 318.

ject and object of the action are identical (*abhedi kāṣṭhaṃ svayam eva*, 3, 1, 87) [238] beside forms denoting bhāva (*aśāyi bhavatā*, 3, 1, 66) and karman 'passive' (*akāri kaṭo devadattena*, 3, 1, 66). The Iranian equivalents of this category, Av. *vāčī* etc. [239] and O.P. *akariy* etc. [240] are '*on*-forms', agentless 'passives': Y. 43, 13 *yā θwahmī χšaθrōi vāčī* "von dem gesagt ist, dass es in Deinem Reiche sei" (Bartholomae); Yt. 8, 48 *āiδi* Germ. "heissen" [241]; Y. 53, 1 *vahištā īštiš srāvī zaraθuštrahē* "das beste Gut, das man kennt, ist das des Z." (B.); Y. 45, 10 *yə̄ ... mazdå srāvī ahuro*; Y. 32, 8; 9, 3; 4 *kā ahmāi ašiš ərənāvi* "welches Los wurde ihm zu teil?" (B.) (eventive); 44, 18; Yt. 19, 92 *yat ašiš dahākō ǰaini* "was killed"; 93 etc.; Y. 32, 14 *mraoī* (*mravī*) "dass es heisse"; Dar. Beh. II 75; 90 *basta adāriy* "was kept in prison", etc.

Now, in other Indian texts this form is, generally speaking, seldom found. In the prose of the Ait. Br. there are 20 instances from 4 roots (*ajani, apādi, asāvi, vāci*) [242], in Taitt. S., Ait. Ār., Jaim. Br. it is rare; in Mbh. I-XI it is, according to Holtzmann [243], unknown and the only instance he found in the great epic (12, 29, 89), *abhedi*, is clearly 'eventive': *dyaur a.* (*bhinnā* Nīlakaṇṭha). In Śukas. 21-27 there are 4 forms (2 with agens). In artificial literature the type revives: Aśv. Saund. 1-6 and 10: 9, Śiśup. 1-2: 4 (with ag.), Kathās. Vet. 6 (2 with ag.), Daśak. 2-3: 5. So, it is clear that this type is in origin an agentless 'on'-form or eventive, which could develop into a real passive in extraordinary speech [244].

One of the most interesting results of my inquiries concerns the frequency of the passive use of those forms which the middle and the passive voices have in common. I need not dwell upon the expression of the so-called passive by means of middle present-forms, this matter being repeatedly dealt with [245]. In the Ṛgveda the 'passive use' of

[238] See also Renou, Terminologie, I, p. 122.
[239] Reichelt, Awestisches Elementarbuch, § 232.
[240] Meillet-Benveniste, Grammaire du Vieux-Perse, § 207.
[241] See, however, H. Lommel, Die Yäšt's des Awesta (1927), p. 56.
[242] Cf. J. Avery, Contributions to the history of verb-inflection in Sanskrit, J.A.O.S. 10, p. 294.
[243] A. Holtzmann, Grammatisches aus dem Mahābhārata, § 844.
[244] See also A. J. Eaton, The Ātmanepada in Ṛigveda, Diss. Leipzig 1884, p. 20-24.
[245] Eaton, o.c., p. 19 ff.; D. Andersen, Om brugen og betydningen af verbets genera i Sanskrit, København 1892; B. Delbrück, Altindische Syntax, p. 263 f. I refer to my critical remarks, see above, p. 50 f.

middle forms is often met with, and real passives (with agens) are not unknown, in Vedic prose, however, it is rare and after that period it disappears.

As to the middle future used in a passive sense, Eaton [246] and Delbrück [247] mention only one text taken from the Ṛgveda, viz. 8, 70 (= 679), 14 *ṛṣibhiḥ staviṣyase*. In fact, the passive sense of this form is far from being common, the gerundive to a great extent taking the place of a passive future. From a statistical account of the middle forms which are liable to be used in a passive sense [248] it appears that the 'passive future' is very seldom found: Nala: 1; Bhagavadg.: 3 (intr.); Kālid. Śak. 1 and 6 (prose): 1; only in the Kathās. it is comparatively frequent. In epic language the future of *muc-*: *mokṣyase, -si* forms an exception, if at least Mbh. 3, 279, 4 *na hi me mokṣyase jīvan* (cf. 3, 284, 16) *me* expresses the agens [249]. It may be a dative of concern denoting the person who is interested by the action. In the expression *sarvapāpaiḥ pramokṣyase* (3, 135, 6), quoted by Holtzmann, the verb does not represent a passive proper [250].

Of the many middle forms used for the passive voice, noted by Eaton [251], there are only a few real passives. A passive aorist is ṚV. 1, 77, 5 *evā́gnir gótamebhir ṛtā́vā víprebhir astoṣṭa* "was praised by the inspired Gotamas"; cf. also 1, 124, 13 *ástoḍhvaṃ stómyā bráhmaṇā me*. A passive perfect is 1, 100, 10 *vidé víśvābhiḥ kṛṣṭíbhiḥ* "is known by all races", and also 7, 90, 1 *dadrire vām adhvaryúbhir … sutā́saḥ*. The same forms are found without an agens: 1, 132, 3 *sá ghā vide ánv índro gavéṣaṇo* … "Indra ist ja bekannt als der Rindersucher" (Geldner); 4, 34, 4 *dadé vo máhi … sávanam mádāya*; 37, 3. Most forms are agentless 'passives', no real passives, cf. 1, 135, 3 and 6, where, however, an agens, which must be connected with the participle, is present: *adhvaryúbhir bháramāṇā ayaṅsata*; 8, 32, 16; 9, 2, 5; eventives: 1, 80, 3, resultatives denoting a condition or state of being: 9, 29, 5; 10, 31, 3; cf. also the figura etymologica *divó ná sárgā asasṛgram* 9, 97, 30 etc., 'reflexive' intransitives: 6, 48, 6 *támo dadṛśe*; 1, 95, 1. Thus, 10, 87, 19 *mā́ … hetyā́ mukṣata* should be translated: "must not escape the missile". An interesting case of opposition to

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[246] Eaton, o.c., p. 25.
[247] Delbrück, o.c., p. 265.
[248] As required by Speyer, Sanskrit Syntax, § 314 note.
[249] See Holtzmann, o.c., § 998b.
[250] See above (Bhagavadgītā), p. 55.
[251] Eaton, o.c., p. 25.

active forms is 6, 69, 8 *ubhā́ jigyathur ná párā jayethe ná párā jigye katarā́ś canainoḥ* "you both have been victorious: you both conquered, neither of you has been conquered". The participles are seldom attended by an agens: 1, 135, 3 and 6 (see higher up); 3, 10, 4 *agnír devébhir ā́ gamat | añjānáḥ saptá hótṛbhir* ...; 1, 62, 5 *gṛṇānó áṅgirobhiḥ*, but 35, 10 the same form occurs without an agens. The participles of the intensive-stems of the verb *mṛj-* "to clean" are rather frequently attended by an agens, cf. e.g. 9, 91, 2 *prá yó nṛbhir* ... *marmṛjānó*.

As to epic language, Holtzmann [252] already remarked that "sich die Praxis darauf beschränkt, einige wenige Wörter, welche "sehen, hören, bemerken" bedeuten, im reduplicirten Perfect des Mediums auch in passivem Sinne zu verwenden. So besonders śuśruve "er wurde gehört", immer mit einem "Lärm, Tumult" bedeutenden Subjecte: ...; es scheint, dass weder andere mediale Formen von śru- im passiven Sinne gebraucht werden noch auch śuśruve selbst anders als in jener formelhaften stehenden Redensart". The forms quoted by him are, however, only eventives, *on*-forms, cf. e.g. 6, 119, 17 *teṣām āpatatāṃ śabdaḥ śuśruve phālgunaṃ prati*. In the same way *dadṛśe* 1, 56, 13, which followed by *iva* means "looked like", cf. 7, 14, 71 *dadṛśāte* ... *sapakṣāv iva parvatau*.

In Kāvya the complete passive turn of middle perfect-forms are, however, far from being rare: Kāl. Ragh. 19, 18 *tena* ... *niṣeduṣā pṛṣṭhataḥ* ... *śuśruve vacaḥ* "by him, sitting, behind them..., were heard the ... words" [253]. And the artificial character of this turn is quite clear from such texts as Bhār. Kir. 7, 17 *āsede daśaśatalocanadhvajinyā* ... *indrakīlaḥ*, where *āsede* means *prāptaḥ*.

So, we are not surprised at finding that in Kirātārjunīya 7-9 there are 28 middle perfects used in passive senses and attended by an agens beside only 3 agentless forms, that in Śiśupālavadha 1-2 all (4) perfects of the passive are real passives, that even in many chapters of the Kathāsaritsāgara the number of passive perfects with an agens exceeds that of agentless forms. Whereas Kss. 75, 152 *āravaḥ* ... *śuśruve* is a case of the common epic and narrative use of this perfect, 167 and 168 *jagṛhe sa dṛṣṭvā puraraksibhiḥ* and *ninye ca* ... *taiḥ* represent the Kāvya-style.

The grammarians admit the impersonal use of the verbal adjectives in *-ta-* (Pāṇini 1, 2, 21 *dyutitam* or *dyotitam anena*; *ihāhinā sṛptam*

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[252] Holtzmann, o.c., § 531.
[253] I refer to the texts discussed in part II of this book.

"here a serpent has crawled") [254], which is much liked by later authors. Such constructions as *gantavyaṃ mayā* occur already in the Rāmāyaṇa, and there are other impersonal turns: "La prédominance de l'expression passive entraîne la constitution d'un impersonnel (bhāva...), qui se propage de façon inégale et tend à s'adjoindre un instr. régime..." [255]; thus we find such imperatives as *śrūyatām* and impersonal aorists in *-i*. But in Kāvya-works impersonal turns are coming into fashion. According to Thomas [256] and Walter [257] Kumāradāsa has been the first Kāvya-poet to use the third pers. sg. of the middle perfect as an impersonal with the subject in the instrumental. Bhāravi and Māgha are fond of this turn: Kir. 3, 30 *iti bruvāṇena mahendrasūnuṃ maharṣiṇā tena tiro babhūve*; 16, 35 *sphuṭaṃ visasre savitur mayūkhaiḥ*; Śiś. 3, 61 *ūṣe makaradhvajena*; 6, 39 *nanṛte navapallavaiḥ* [258]. The author of the Bhaṭṭikāvya also has it: 14, 101 *cakhādire cakhāduś ca* [259].

As is well known, the case may present itself in which the verbal adjective in *-ta-* or *-na-* is nothing more or less than a simple attributive adjective. The remark, made by Delbrück [260], "Eine Anzahl von Formen auf *-tá-* übersetzen wir durch Adjectiva. Doch ist die Grenze fliessend" is correct, but it is quite a common phenomenon that one language expresses by what we call an adjective what another denotes by a participle. The habits of a given language are, however, not exhaustively defined by stating that it makes use of such and such particular forms, there remain the questions of their frequency and of their stylistic value. In the prose of the Brāhmaṇas and in the story of Pauṣya attributive verbal adjectives are not numerous. In other texts their frequency is not always the same, but they are often rather rare. An exhaustive inquiry into the matter might be in place, and then we might go on examining which verbal adjectives are particularly used in this way. In the Ṛgveda, where attributive ppp.'s are comparatively numerous, we find such forms as *prītá-*: *vājī ná prītáḥ*, *śuddhá-*:

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[254] See also Renou, Grammaire, p. 195 and 198.

[255] Renou, o.c., p. 498; see also pp. 205; 314.

[256] F. W. Thomas, The Jānakīharaṇa of Kumāradāsa, J.R.A.S. 1901, p. 260.

[257] O. Walter, Übereinstimmungen in Gedanken .... bei den indischen Kunstdichtern..., (Leipzig 1905), p. 36.

[258] I refer to Walter, o.c., p. 36 f.; and to Cappeller's transl. of the Kir.

[259] See also Renou, o.c., p. 459 f. (Aśv. Bc. 2, 21 see Johnston's edition, where *ācakrire* is transitive; Śiś. 14, 35 is not a complete passive).

[260] Delbrück, Altindische Syntax, p. 385.

1, 164, 40 *píba śuddhám udakám*; *śruta-*: 1, 101, 7 *índram ... abhy arcati śrutám*, etc.[261]. These facts correspond on one hand with the origin of the category, on the other hand with the use of the verbal adjectives in Old-Iranian, which I have, however, not thoroughly investigated. Meillet-Benveniste[262] unjustly does not differentiate between attributive and other employment and what has been entered by Reichelt[263] in his short paragraph on this topic should at least in part be dealt with under the heading 'verbal adjectives expressing attendant circumstances': V. 18, 46 *yaṯ nā χᵛaptō χšudrå frāraoδayeite* "when a man, after falling asleep, ejaculates semen".

As we have already seen above[264], the v. adj. is often considerably more frequent when used as an apposition: in Pauṣya we find ± 50 cases beside 9 attributes. As such it serves to express attendant circumstances or other qualifications of the main action (whether causal, concessive, temporal etc.)[265]. It may be attended by an instrumental, whether this case expresses concomitancy, an instrument, or the agens. In Vedic texts this instr. is rather rare[266]. In ṚV. I, 1-70, II, III, 1-42 I found 7 examples beside 125 attrib. and appos. without an agens. In Pauṣya 15: ± 50 appos. without an agens. Nor is it frequent in epic ślokas (in selected parts from the Rām. ± 1 : 3½). As to Kāvya, in Aśv. Saund. (cantos 1-6 and 10: 6: 55), Kāl. Megh. 1: 19), Budhasvāmin the addition of an agens is comparatively rare, but in Kāl. Ragh. (cantos 1, 3, 5, 15, 16, 19: 21 : ± 30), Bhār. Kir., Kathās. it is often found. The difference between the two poems of Kālidāsa seems easily explained by the different character of their subject-matter. It strikes us that in the Daśakum. the agens is seldom added, and that, on the other hand Manu, Kūrmapurāṇa Īśv. and Śukasapt. have it comparatively often.

As has been shown by Meillet[267] in a fundamental paper, which rectified the older views on this subject, there existed already in the Indo-Eur. period two kinds of nominal sentences: "la phrase nominale pure" (which did not contain any personal verb-form), being the

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[261] See also Renou, o.c., § 153b.
[262] Meillet-Benveniste, o.c., § 217.
[263] Reichelt, o.c., § 670.
[264] See p. 17 ff.
[265] Its use has sufficiently been described by Speyer (Sanskrit Syntax, § 362).
[266] Renou, Grammaire, § 152: „non fixée à date ancienne". See also Wecker, B.B. 30, 196, whose 'agens' includes too much.
[267] A. Meillet, La phrase nominale en indo-européen, MSL. 14 (1906), p. 1 ff.

normal turn when the third person sg. indic. was expressed, or, in a more general way, "un présent de l'indic. si la personne est suffisamment indiquée sans l'intervention d'une forme verbale". In other cases the 'copula' was usually added. Although in most languages the second turn has to a large extent driven out the former, in the ancient Indo-Iranian languages the construction without *as-* or *bhū-* has remained quite common. In treating these sentences it will be convenient to adhere to the distinction made by Delbrück and other scholars: a) sentences containing a verbal adj.; b) sentences without a verbal adj. Avery [268] collected from the Ait. Br. 6736 personal forms and 174 verbal adjectives in *-ta-* and *-na-* used as predicates without a copula derived from 53 roots. The total number of verb. adjs. is 858, derived from 120 roots. These figures show that in Ait. Br. the turn is not frequent. From ṚV. I, 1-70, II, III, 1-42 (which contain ± 1650 stanzas) I have collected about 35 instances of the agentless construction and 3 with an agens expressed; in Ath. V. IV these figures are 12 and 4 or 5, in Kaṭhop. 3 and 5.

According to Bloch [269], who made an inquiry into the verbal and nominal sentences in all prose parts of the Mbh., the development the participial sentences (*-ta-*, *-tavant-*, adj. necess.) have undergone since the Vedic prose is remarkable. The total number of nominal sentences in the said parts is about 315, that of the 'phrases participiales' more than 200, more than 160 containing a 'part. perf. pass.' used predicatively. In the Pauṣya episode the agens is added in 4 cases. The verbal sentence, however, which occurs 1033 times, is the most frequent construction. As to epic ślokas, in the Sāvitrī episode the figures are: (all sentences containing a ppp.) ppp. (verb. adj.) used as a pred. without agens expressed 13, with agens 30 (attrib. 26, act. and middle personal forms 348), in Nala (sentences without a copula) 1-19: transitives 14 (12 in oratio recta) and 50 (41 in oratio recta), intrans. 36 (29); according to Avery [270] the total number of personal forms of Nala and Bhagavadgītā is 1282, of which 224 are used as predicate without a copula; in Mbh. 5, a. 186-192 incl.: 21 (10 or r.) and 23 (21 or r.) (act. and middle pers. forms 284); in Manu 2: 22 and 4 (a. and m. pers. forms 265). In some parts selected from the Rām. this construction seems to be almost as numerous, but the cases of trans. ppps. in which the agens has been added outnumber the agentless in-

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[268] Avery, JAOS, 10, p. 294 f.; 319 f.
[269] J. Bloch, La phrase nominale en sanscrit, MSL. 14, p. 64.
[270] Avery, o.c.

stances; the construction is especially liked in oratio recta; there are, of course, many intransitives.

In the prose of the first and sixth acts of the Śakuntalā, which contain about 250 act. and m. pers. forms, 34 passive pers. forms and 5 instances of the *-tavant*-turn, there are about 75 pred. verb. adjs. without ag. and ± 50 with ag. expressed. In Daśak. 8 these figures are: about 220, 20, 3, 22, 16, there are about 70 other complete nominal sentences. In Śukas. 21-27, they are, respectively, 290, 7, 25, 6, 5, 33. From 20 pages of the Hitopodeśa I collected 218, 22, 6, 18, 52, 57. In Śivadāsa's Vetālap. (ed. Uhle) this use of the verb. adj. is very common. Bloch[271] arrived at the conclusion that "dans le Vetāla nous ne trouvons plus que 790 verbes contra plus de 1750 phrases nominales. Ce changement est dû surtout à la substitution des formes participiales aux temps passés du verbe: en face de 38 formes verbales, le Vetāla offre 1115 adjectifs en *-ta-* comportant cette valeur". From these figures we may conclude that in later prose in general this participial turn is much liked, but also that the texts are divergent with reference to its relative frequency[272].

It is worth while to examine also some metrical texts. In Aśvaghoṣa, Bc. 2-4 there are 324 act. and m. pers. forms, 13 pass. pers. forms, 15 ppps. predicatively used without an agens and 9 with an agens. In Kūrmapur. Īśvaragītā 1-4; 6 these figures are 211, 22, 16, 10; Budhasv. Bṛhatkathāśl. 14, 1-15, 107 they are 184, 39, 38, 52 trans. and 2 and 25 (!) intr. In Kālid. Ragh. 1, 3, 5, 15, 16, 19 there are 32 and 12 ppps. used in this way; from 20 pages of the Kathās. I collected 12 and 36 trans. cases besides 269 act. or m. personal forms and 23 other nominal sentences.

Now, there are 'semi-nominal' sentences in which a copula is added. As a rule this type is less numerous than the complete nominal sentence: in selected parts of the Mbh: ± 3: 22; Manu ± 4: 11, Rām. ± 1: 2, Īśvaragītā 3: ± 130!, Daśakum. ± 1: 40!, Budhasv. Bṛhatk. ± 2: 25, Śukasapt. ± 1: 6. When the predicate is a ppp. the cases in which there is no agens expressed usually outnumber the other cases: Pauṣya episode 10: 8, Kālid. Śak. 1 and 6 prose 12: 3, Daśak. (8) 3: 1, Aśvagh. S. 7: 2 etc.

The conclusion, then, is that although it is, with good reason, the prevailing opinion that these sentences have much contributed to the

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[271] Bloch, o.c., p. 93.
[272] In a different manner Bloch, o.c., p. 28.

preponderance of the so-called passive construction in Sanskrit [273], it is not advisable to call a large number of these ppp. predicates real or complete passives, because the agens which is comparatively seldom added in Vedic prose and metrical texts continues to appear, as a rule, only in a minority of cases. There are, however, exceptions: the Hitopadeśa, epic texts and those kāvya writings which combine a certain simplicity with an explicitly narrative character (Kathās., Budhasv. Bṛhk.). As the verbal adjective originally indicated a person or object as being in a situation resulting from the process expressed by the verb [274], there is no reason to be surprised at this state of affairs.

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[273] See Renou, Gramm., § 367, p. 497 f.: "Un trait de la phrase sanscrite est la faveur dont jouit l'expression passive: le fait, en tant que générique ... va de pair avec le progrès du style nominal qui multiplie les adjectifs passifs en fonction de verbes".

[274] H. Kallin, Etude syntactique sur l'expression du rapport de l'agent dans les langues romanes (Diss. Uppsala, Paris 1923), p. 3 f. emphasizes the 'durative aspect' predominating in the verbal adjectives; with these words speakers do not consciously express a 'rapport d'agent': Fr. *le jardin est entouré d'un mur*, but Engl. *the house was surrounded with trees*; Cl. Lat. *minora castra inclusa maioribus*. "Le verbe, bien que passif au point de vue de la forme, ne l'est pas au point de vue du sens. C'est que le participe exprime ici un état, sans que cet état se présente à l'esprit comme amené par une action antérieure. La préposition ... marque simplement que le sujet se trouve par rapport au complément dans une situation donnée".